# REPORT RESUMES

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MEDIEVAL STUDIES.
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A CURRICULUM GUIDE ON MEDIEVAL STUDIES IS PRESENTED, INCLUDING TEACHER MATERIALS AND STUDENT PROBLEM SETS. THE TEACHER MATERIALS DESCRIBE AND EXPLAIN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MANORIAL LIFE--THE PREDOMINANT FORM OF AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN NORTHERN FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND GERMANY DURING THE PERIOD FROM APPROXIMATELY 800 TO 1300 A.D. AN INTRODUCTION IS ALSO GIVEN TO THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "SOCIAL" AND "CULTURAL" SYSTEMS AS APPLICABLE TO MEDIEVAL LIFE. STUDENTS MAY OBTAIN ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THROUGH A QUESTION PERIOD AND RECOMMENDED READING. DESCRIPTIVE ESSAYS ARE TO BE WRITTEN BY THE STUDENTS AND THEN USED AS THE BASIS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION. SORT CARDS ARE TO BE USED IN AN EXERCISE TO PRESENT SPECIFICS SO STUDENTS CAN CONSTRUCT A HYPOTHETICAL MODEL OF FRENCH FEUDALISM DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD. DOCUMENT EXCERPTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN VARIOUS ROMAN CATHOLIC POPES AND LAY LEADERS DURING THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD ARE INCLUDED. SAMPLE QUESTION SHEETS FOR STUDENT COMPLETION ARE ALSO ILLUSTRATED. (TC)

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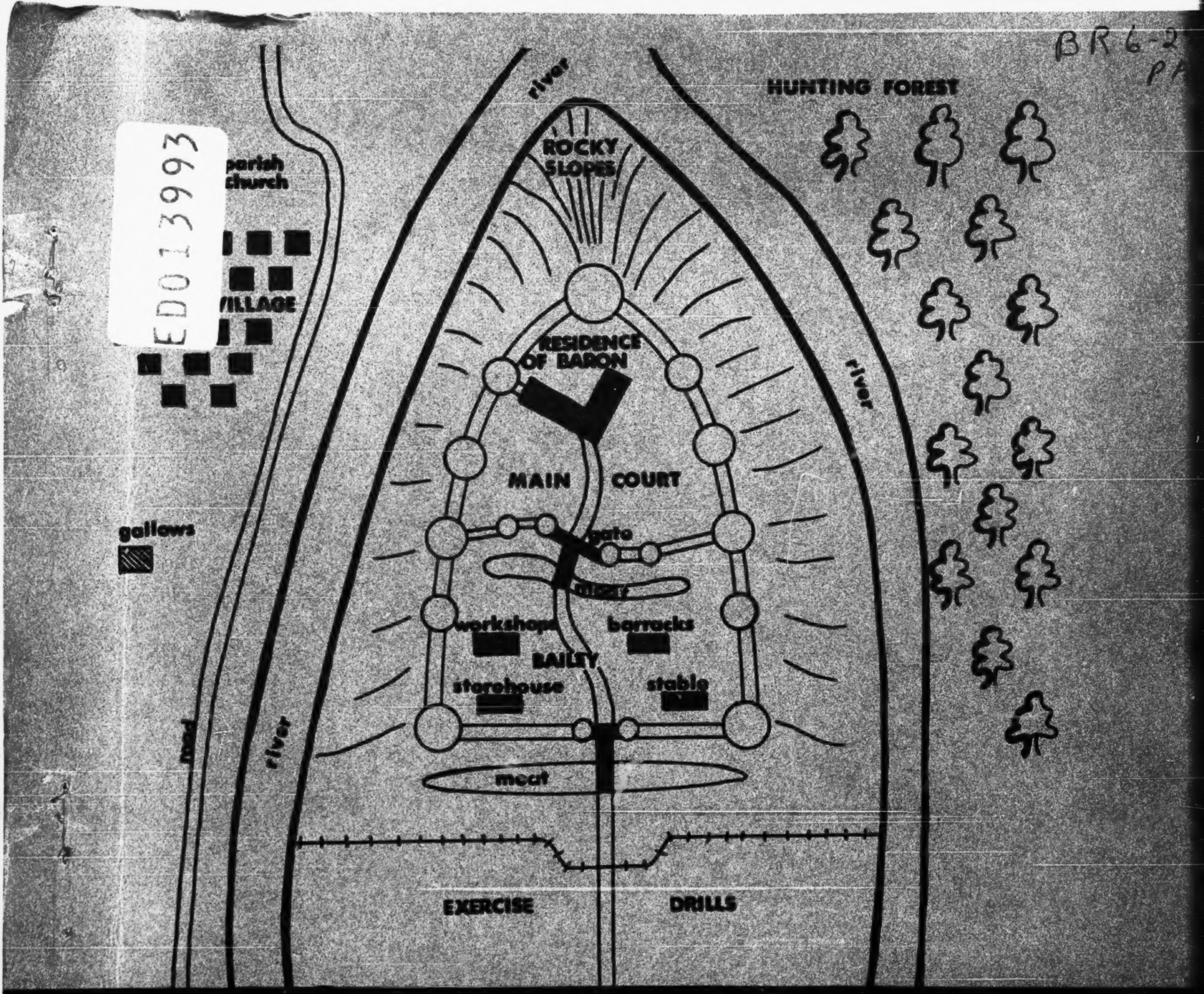
river
HUNTING FOREST
ROCKY SLOPES
parish church
VILLAGE
RESIDENCE OF BARON
river
MAIN COURT
gallows
gate
workshops
barracks
BAILEY
storehouse
stable
road
river
moat
EXERCISE
DRILLS

# MEDIEVAL STUDIES

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CHICAGO SOCIAL STUDIES PROJECT

TRIAL EDITION

Materials Developed by
CHICAGO SOCIAL STUDIES PROJECT
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MEDIEVAL STUDIES

| Problem # | Student Materials |
|---|---|
| | PROBLEM SET MED-I: THE MANOR |
| Med-I (A) | Neauville Manor Problem |
| Med-I (B) | "The Peasant Bodo" |
| Med-I (C) | English Manor Expense Account |
| Med-I (D) | 14th Century English Manorial Life |
| Med-I (E) | Manor Court Rolls |
| | PROBLEM SET MED-II: THE FEUDAL SYSTEM |
| Med-II (A) | Card Sort Problem |
| Med-II (B) | Card Sort Problem (cont.) |
| Med-II (C) | Card Sort Problem (cont.) |
| | PROBLEM SET MED-II: THE FEUDAL SYSTEM |
| Med-III | Correspondence between popes, kings, and emperors. |

Teacher Materials

## PART I

## THE MEDIEVAL MANOR

Part I of the Medieval unit comprises a study of the Medieval manor. It attempts a description and explanation of the economic, social, and political aspects of manorial life--the predominant form of agricultural life in Northern France, England, and Germany during the period from approximately 800-1300 A.D. The manor is viewed as a microcosmic society, a relatively self-contained human community. Historical and political distinctions between manorialism as it evolved in France and England are presented. In terms of Social Science concepts, the students' previous dealings with the universal categories of culture are reinforced. The mutual interdependence of these is particularly relevant to a study of the medieval manor. The process of social change via technological innovation is reintroduced and reinforced. An attempt is made also to introduce the Parsonian distinction between "social" and "cultural" systems as applicable to Medieval life.

Student readings and exercises in the study include:

1. Neauville Manor problem.
2. "The Peasant Bodo," from Eileen Power's Medieval People.
3. An excerpt from the expense account of a 13th Century English Manor.
4. A fictional description of 14th Century English manorial life from H. S. Bennett's Life on the English Manor.
5. Excerpts from Manor Court Rolls of a 14th Century English Manor.

### Manorialism

The manorial system encompassed the predominant economic, social, and political institutions which governed the lives of agricultural workers in Northern France, Germany, and England during the period from approximately 800-1300 A.D. It was a system most adaptable to relatively fertile geographic areas of moderate continental climate which experienced no prolonged dryness in summer. Grain could be sown twice yearly in both fall and spring and harvested in the summer and early fall. There is a great deal of disagreement regarding the exact origins of communal manorial life due to the paucity of source materials from the early Medieval period. Latest research would point to the fact that there was no one single line of development of the medieval manor.

The manorial village may have originated in the great Roman estates prevalent during the last days of the Empire. In Gaul, these estates had passed into the hands of Frankish kings or were given by them to their followers or to the Church in the early Medieval period. Cultivation of these by slaves had gradually given way to cultivation by coloni in the last days of the Empire. Each colonus had a cottage and a small piece of land for personal use, but his major time was spent working in the fields of the estate owner. In Carolingian times (ca. 800) many large estates of both Roman and Frankish origin were cultivated on a similar system, and it would seem that the Roman colonus was a likely ancestor of the medieval serf.

Other explanations for the rise of medieval manorialism depend far less on historical evolution from Roman models. A new agricultural technique, the mouldboard plow, was probably invented among German tribes sometime in the 4th or 5th Centures, A.D. In order for the North European plains to be maximally productive agriculturally, improved drainage techniques had to be developed; these were supposedly supplied by the mouldboard plow. Since the plow overturned the soil in furrows, creating a series of artificial ridges separated by shallow ditches running parallel through the length of a field, it allowed the drainage of standing water in the spring and thus made possible earlier planting. Field patterns on the Roman latifundia had generally been squarish in configuration, while the dominant field pattern of the Medieval manor was a grouping in parallel strips. The plow required eight oxen to operate, was cumbersome and could not be turned easily at the end of a given strip. The discontinuous parallel strip appearance of the typical manor farmland suggests that the plow itself determined the characteristic field patterns of the manor. Since draught animals were scarce during the early medieval period, the necessity for a number of farmers to work their land together in order to utilize the benefits of this new technique rendered communal living an obvious solution.

The exact causal relationship between the extra-manorial political system (feudalism) and manorialism is also difficult to specify. It has been suggested that the desire for protection from violence or invasion precipitated the communal living of the manorial village which sacrificed its "freedom" to a lord protector. The manorial system has also been seen as a byproduct of the broader political system by which rulers like William the Conqueror, for example, requiring some way to reimburse loyal soldiers, granted gifts of land to these warriors who in turn became overlords of manorial estates. (There is some evidence, however, that manorial life antedated the appearance of even the Anglo-Saxon kings. In Carolingian times, during the 9th and 10th Centuries, there were some free villages, communally organized, which owed allegiance to no lord but were composed of free farmers who chose to live together in order to cooperatively cultivate their fields. Some of these were found in England as late as the 11th Century and were predominant in parts of Germany.) The manorialism with which this unit deals was intimately linked with the extra-manorial feudal system.

The manorial paradigms which the unit presents were a generally prevailing societal form by the 10th Century in the regions of the North European plain. Geographically, the manor was composed of four general areas. The arable land grew the crops on which the manorial inhabitants subsisted. This was usually divided into three fields, two of which were planted each year while one lay fallow. Planting was done with summer and winter grain. The fallow field required plowing twice yearly in order to discourage the growth of weeds, while the other two fields required annual plowing and harvesting. The three fields were laid out in strips, and each peasant in the medieval village "owned" one strip in each of the three fields. The meadow land of the manor supplied the unabundant hay necessary to support draught animals and was similarly divided into small individual strips. Shortage of winter fodder for his draught animals was a constant threat to the medieval peasant. The manor's waste land provided summer pasture for pigs, geese, cattle, and sheep which belonged to the village in common. This forested area also provided wood for fuel and building purposes. The village was located in the center of the arable land near a source of drinking water and consisted of the cottages of the peasants and the small manorial church and mill. The actual peasant dwelling (the tenement) was extremely modest. It was generally a hut or cottage with a small garden plot and perhaps a few fruit trees. In addition to his roughly equal plots of land in each of the arable fields (usually approximately 1 virgate-20 acres) the peasant had a right to share in the use of the waste land, pasture, meadow, and woods. Productivity of the manor was generally extremely low. Much seed was "thrown to the winds" and although the value of manure was understood as a general rule there seems to have been no really effective attempt to utilize it for soil fertilization. Cheese was made from cow's milk and sheep provided wool for the peasant's costume. All in all, the manor comprised a relatively self-contained economic unit.

In addition to its functions as a territorial and agricultural organization, the manor also provided a political and legal framework for peasant life. The court leet,* court baron, and customary courts had the single manor as their sphere of action. Manorial courts met at frequent intervals under the steward or other representative of the lord of the manor, and attendance was a general requirement for both free and servile tenants. A unique "custom of the manor" developed in each village, leading to the particularism of legal tenets during the medieval period.

In regard to a more centralized wielding of legal power, as early as the Carolingian period the count of a manor formally exercised a "royal judicial authority" in his county as the king's delegate. In the chaos of the later Carolingian period when large landholders further enfeoffed (divided their lands among) lesser feudal officials, the count was inclined to grant all or parts of his rights of jurisdiction to the respective knights to whom he had given his land. The 13th Century legalist, Philippe de Beaumanoir, defined a baron as one "who is king in his own barony," and despite theoretical limitations to the lord's judicial powers, in practice, the individual lord of a medieval manor exercised as much legal jurisdiction over his peasants as his physical power would permit. Thus, the lowest lord who had a strong castle was likely to have the greatest relative power over his vassals. According to a theoretical distinction regarding "rights of jurisdiction," worked out by late 11th Century French jurists, rights were termed either "high," "middle," or "low." "High justice" was the full jurisdiction of a lord over all legal cases. "Middle justice" comprised the right to hang criminals in some cases. "Low justice" simply permitted "police-court" jurisdiction--with the stocks and the whipping post the only punitive measures allowed. Virtually all lords had at least "low justice" jurisdiction over their tenants. In attempting a distinction between legal aspects of French and English manorialism, it is to be noted that English barons never had jurisdiction greater than what would be termed "middle justice" by the French legalists.

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*Local court dealing with minor offenses and felonies.

In terms of legal distinctions and social organization among the peasants themselves, there were manifold and shadowy distinctions between freeman and bondsman on the prototypic medieval manor. By the 11th Century, however, most of the people who lived in the medieval village were unfree; that is, they were bound to the land of the lord and required to provide specified days of field work on his land (the demesne), labor services, and produce payments in return for the privilege of living on the manor. The serf's condition differed very basically from slavery, however. In England, although the unfree villages could not bring any civil suit against his lord and had no property rights against him, he could carry a criminal charge against the lord to the royal courts. In France, too, although the distinction was probably more theoretical than practical, the unfree villager hanged by his lord (who held "high justice" jurisdiction) was, at least formally, being hanged by the "king's delegate," not by the knight functioning as manorial lord. In both France and England, the lord could not legally sell, physically mistreat, or give away his serfs unless the villager's tenement was given away with him. Specific obligations owed the lord by the medieval peasant are detailed in Eileen Power's "Bodo, the Peasant" and H. S. Bennett's hypothesized account of "Life on the English Manor." A comparison of the two shows less stringent obligations owed the lord by the English peasant (due probably to the lesser degree of isolation and the initially more centralized government and feudal structure which precipitated English manorialism).

Legal questions between peasants of similar status on a particular manor were, then, generally within the jurisdiction of the particular lord of the manor or his representative. The actual distinction between the English villagers, usually referred to as a villein and his French counterpart, the servus, or serf, rested on the fact that in England a stronger royal government protected what sparse rights the villager had vis-a-vis his lord. Compared to the French village region where, by the 11th Century almost all peasants were unfree, freemen were quite common in England where they were particularly numerous in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambrideshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk--the regions of England where hamlets rather than manors, as defined, persisted.[1] The relatively "looser" English manorial system may be partially explained by proximity to hamlet forms of social organization and the "cultural diffusion" from them of notions of increased political freedom.

Given the economic, political (legal), and social organization of the prototypic manor, its basic "social system" can generally be viewed as a self-contained one. At the "cultural system" level (religion, arts, knowledge), medieval "values" also found their expression in local manorial institutions (i.e., "religion" in the manorial church, "education" in the manor house workshop). "Arts" as a distinctly defined universal category of culture manifest in the life of the medieval peasant seems to have been limited, for the most part, to the local ditties sung on the manorial estate. The profusion of folk music and balladry dating from the medieval period points to the particularism of "arts," as well as of economic and social organization during the period and points to the general "self-containedness" of the manor.

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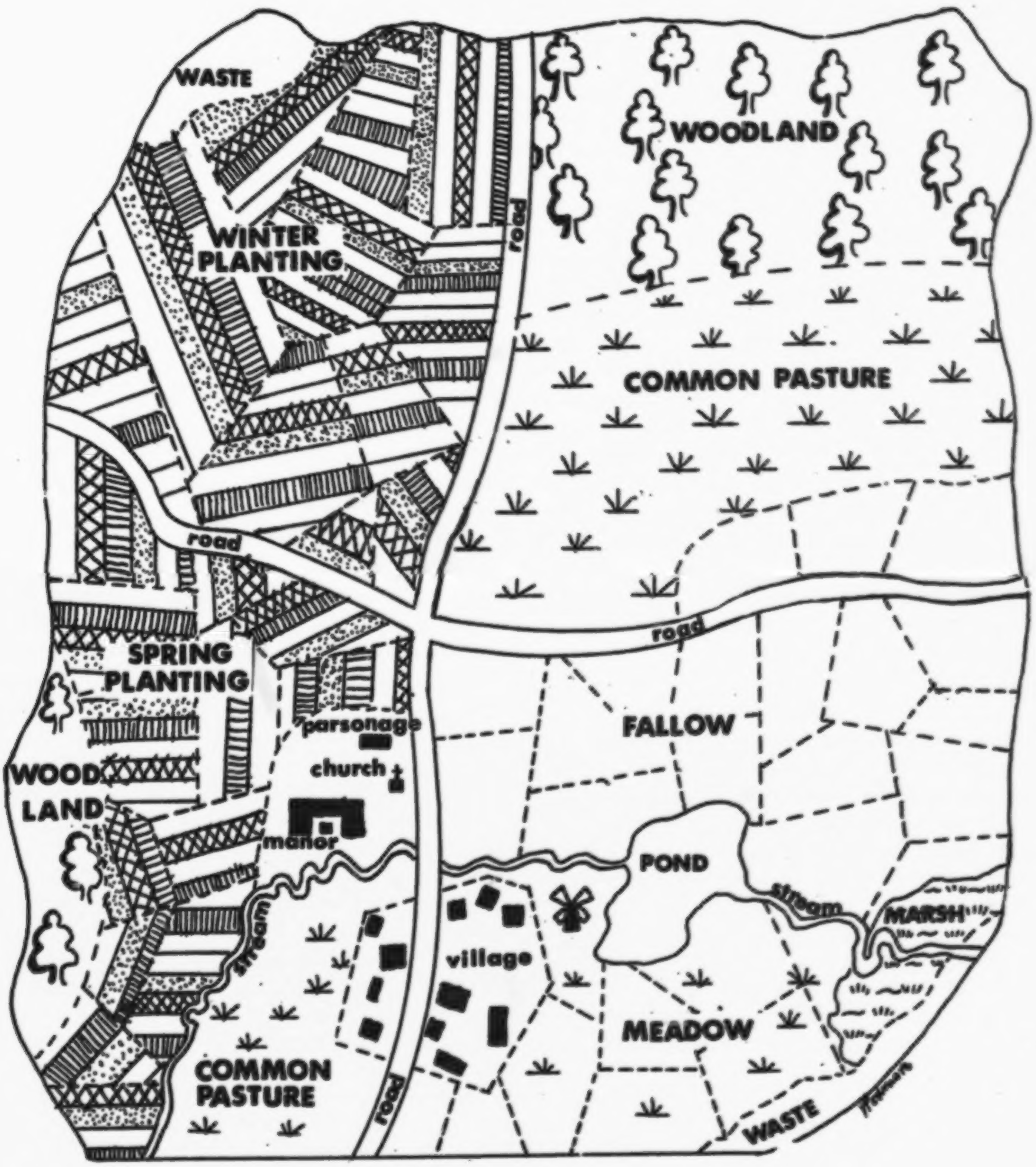
[1] The hamlet was most common in regions that were generally not fertile and where "inland and outland" methods of cultivation were used. A small piece of land near the large house would be cultivated continuously and kept in a reasonable state of fertility by using manure. At the same time, a larger plot would be plowed and used until it was worn out. Then another piece of land would be used similarly. As the productivity must have been very low, it seems that the area available for each family was correspondingly large. In general, the regions where hamlets predominated were ones of poor soil and thin population, which may explain the freer political and social status of the peasants of these areas.

In all, the particular paradigm of manorial life presented above is one which should be substantiated by the student in his initial researches on the Neauville Manor problem, taking account of the noted peculiarities of French manorial life in the 11th Century. Some of the later documents included in Part I of the Medieval unit point to a disintegration or "loosening" of the manorial system. This was especially prevalent in England with the disappearance of demesne land, the commutation of rents to money rather than service payments, reclamation of land, and the enfranchisement of the serf (11th-14th Centuries). The later documents in the unit point to this changing nature of manorialism--"variations on the theme"--demonstrating, among other things, the effects of a money economy and cultural diffusion (via extra-manorial war and trade) on manorial institutions.

# MODEL OF A MEDIEVAL MANOR


WASTE
WINTER PLANTING
road
WOODLAND
COMMON PASTURE
road
road
SPRING PLANTING
parsonage
church
WOOD LAND
manor
FALLOW
POND
stream
MARSH
stream
village
MEADOW
COMMON PASTURE
road
WASTE

▒ STRIPS IN OPEN FIELDS HELD BY PARISH CHURCH

▥ THE LORD'S DEMENSE IN OPEN FIELDS

▩ THE PEASANTS' STRIPS IN OPEN FIELDS

EACH RECTANGLE REPRESENTS ONE FAMILY'S HOLDINGS

# NEUVILLE MANOR

This problem is designed as an introduction to the medieval manor. It requires the student to "ask the right questions" in order to begin his research and reinforces the distinction between biological, geographical, and cultural determinants of culture made earlier. The only type of information available to the student (via the teacher in an initial class discussion) is geographic and demographic data regarding the society in question (i.e., its general location, topography, climate, and available resources). The student must then obtain, through research, additional information--primarily economic and social.

In order to answer the specific questions of this problem, the student is required to research manorialism in the early 11th Century in North Central France. In the process of researching these specific economic, social, and political data, he uncovers much other introductory material regarding Religion, Arts, and Knowledge on the medieval manor. The more a student is able to engage in independent research, the more detailed his explicit responses to the questions can be expected to be. The traditional belief that abler students can generalize well while the less able can generally see "the forest but not the trees" is reversed in this problem. Many students, on the basis of the data given and information required, are able to broadly define the lord-serf relationship, the political roles in the manorial community, etc. On the other hand, the more independent student can speculate specifically on the relative importance in the extra-manorial feudal hierarchy of the probable Lord of Neauville Manor and on the manor's probable relation to a French central government. These specific extra-manorial data can be seen later to affect intra-manorial relationships (i.e., legal), as well.

It is suggested that after the initial questioning period students be given at least three days to research the problem and to write their descriptive essays. These essays should be used as the basis for class discussion--collaboration and disagreement--on the fourth day. Conflicting findings regarding the social and political status of the peasant (due to reference to different sources and the fact that some students will undoubtedly fail to limit themselves by the specific chronological and geographic teacher data) point out notions of changes in manorialism over time and serve as an introduction to the first secondary source account of manorial life, Eileen Power's "Bodo The Peasant."

## NEUVILLE MANOR

## TEACHER DATA

Time: 200 years after the death of Charlemagne (d. 814)

Place: North Central France (the Champagne area)

Natural Environment

Topography: low-lying, flat plains, near sea level

Natural Resources: soil is clay-like, only moderately arable
forests are abundant--much pine (others too)
coal and iron (in small amounts)
other minerals present in limited amounts
no oil
large stream fairly well stocked with fish

Climate: generally temperate
winters tend to be short, can be quite cold
annual rainfall - moderate (22 inches)
temperatures (average) January, 36° F; July, 70° F.

Area: 18,000 acres

Cultural Environment: about 200 people; fairly even sex division and age distribution
generally, these people and this community are typical representatives of the time and circumstances.

To all other questions about the people, whether general or specific, one of the following answers should be given. (Use your judgment as to which of these answers is appropriate and best to provide variation in your "non-answers").

1. If time and place have not yet been elicited: "The answer to that question will be available in answers to questions not yet asked."

2. If time and place have been elicited: "The answer to that question is available in information already given" or "The people are typical and average for their time and circumstances."

# NEUVILLE MANOR

A group of people live in a community in which most of the people are unfree, have no political power and very few rights, are rather poor, and receive only a limited percentage of the results of the long and hard days of work they perform daily throughout the year. Furthermore, they cannot leave the area except by special permission.

Write an essay in which you answer the following questions about this community:

1. Who are the unfree people of this community? Are they all equal? What benefits do they have by living in this community? Do these benefits help to explain why this type of society was originally developed historically?
2. Who are the free people of this community? Are they all equal or are there different political, economic, and social roles among them? If there are different roles, describe them.
3. Who is the most powerful individual in this community? On what is his power based? Is he subordinate to anyone?
4. What is the "form" of the society in which these people live (i.e., the general name given to this system)?
5. What is the name given to the specific type of area encompassed by this community?

There are definite conditions set for these problems, and the teacher has a great deal of specific information which will help to clarify what the conditions are. You may obtain the information only during the "question and answer" session to be held this class period. You may ask any questions that will help you gather the facts that you feel you need to answer the above questions. The answers will no doubt suggest ideas for further reading. Attach a bibliography of sources you consult in pursuing these problems. Remember two things as you work on these problems:

1. These people, while they are not real, represent a type of society that has existed. They should be looked upon as a "model" of that type of society.
2. Your answers to the above problems must be consistent with the information given by the teacher. The conditions set cannot be changed.

# BODO, THE PEASANT

Chapter II from Power's book, Medieval People, provides a description of a "society" in Carolingian France. It is set in the same geographic location as Neauville Manor but 200 years earlier. Frankish domination of the area (in contrast to the nominal rule of a French king at the time of the Neauville problem) can be used as a springboard for discussion of chronological political information, if the teacher so desires (i.e., an account of the Merovingian and Carolingian periods and the eventual evolution of a French national monarchy by the 10th Century).

The major use of the article, however, is to dissect Bodo's society. Students should be assigned the Bodo chapter for overnight reading. In class discussion the following day, the questions below should be presented by the teacher to the entire class (or divided among a number of small discussion groups) for solution. By the period's end, tentative answers should be shared with the entire class and the completion of a "universal categories of culture" chart, similar to the one employed in the study of Homeric Greece, should be assigned for homework.

Questions preparatory to filling out the chart:

1. What social class divisions appear to exist in this society? On what evidence do you base your response?
2. What services, rents, fees, etc. does Bodo owe the Abbot of St. Germain? How are these collected from him?
3. How are decisions which affect the entire group made on the manor? Does Bodo have any part to play in this decision-making? Who is his most immediate "political leader"? Are there other political leaders to whom he owes allegiance and/or service?
4. What, if any, religious tenets does Bodo ascribe to? Are these "of his own making"? Is there any manorial institution which regulates Bodo's religious life?
5. What contact with people outside the manor does Bodo have? Could the manor continue to exist without the Fair of St. Denis?
6. How does Bodo personally, and the manor generally, pass on its beliefs, values, institutions to Wido? How does Wido learn the proper mode of behavior in his society? How did Bodo learn to be a ploughman?
7. What technological knowledge (regarding agriculture, services, etc.) do the villagers on Bodo's manor seem to possess? Is there a marked increase in technology evident since the Classical Greek period?
8. Who, if anyone, are the "artists" in this society? What form does their artistic endeavor take?

These questions raised in class discussion deal broadly with each of the universal categories and should serve to introduce the student to his individual task, which involves a detailed categorizing of various and inclusive societal data. The student should be given at least two days to complete work on the problem. In Part I, this will involve a re-reading of the Bodo article and completion of the chart; in Part II, he will attempt to answer questions which deal with the functions of the universal categories and their interrelations on the medieval manor.

The questions in Part II serve to introduce the concept of function which will be made more explicit later in student exercises dealing with the English Manor. In general, the questions point to the notion that each of the universal categories, while serving numerous functions in society, focus on one particular societal function. The overall values, traditions, and beliefs of society generally reside in the categories enumerated in the "cultural system" (Religion, Arts, Knowledge). These comprise the society's ideal of "how it ought to be"; the prime function of Religion, Arts, and Knowledge in a social system is referred to as "pattern maintenance." The prime focus of each of the other universal categories is: integrative function (social organization), goal-attainment function (political organization), and adaptive function (economics). The teacher is referred to the theoretical model, Structural Perspectives, for further explanation of these concepts.

The particular interrelations of the "social system" categories (economics, political organization, social organization) should be fairly easily demonstrated through viewing the French Manor of the 9th Century.

The questions which accompany the chart are intentionally vague in order to encourage student speculation regarding concepts which will be handled in more depth later in the unit.

# BODO THE PEASANT

Part I: After reading and discussing the article, The Peasant Bodo, which describes the life of a French peasant 200 years before the Neauville Manor problem, complete the following chart as carefully and as fully as possible. Re-read the article. What information do the article and your class discussion present regarding the Economic, Social, Political life (the social system), and Religion, Arts, and Knowledge (the cultural system) in Bodo's society? Can you concisely and comprehensively describe each of these categories in Bodo's society?

| SOCIAL SYSTEM | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Economics | Political Organization | Social Organization | Knowledge | Religion | Arts |
| | | | | | |

# BODO THE PEASANT

Part II: Answer the following questions in short (one paragraph) essay form:

1. What seems to be the relationship, if any, between economics, political organization, and social organization in Bodo's society? Does one's social status determine his economic status? Is the reverse the case? What determines the political rights Bodo enjoys? Do other members of the society exercise different political rights than he does?

2. What are the values of this society? What or who seems to determine them? (Look up the term values in a social science textbook or unabridged dictionary and present your "working definition" in your answer.)

Med-I (B)

# *The Peasant Bodo*

## LIFE ON A COUNTRY ESTATE IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE

> Three slender things that best support the world: the slender stream of milk from the cow's dug into the pail; the slender blade of green corn upon the ground; the slender thread over the hand of a skilled woman.
>
> Three sounds of increase: the lowing of a cow in milk; the din of a smithy; the swish of a plough.
>
> — From *The Triads of Ireland* (9th century)

ECONOMIC HISTORY, as we know it, is the newest of all the branches of history. Up to the middle of the last century the chief interest of the historian and of the public alike lay in political and constitutional history, in political events, wars, dynasties, and in political institutions and their development. Substantially, therefore, history concerned itself with the ruling classes. 'Let us now praise famous men,' was the historian's motto. He forgot to add 'and our fathers that begat us'. He did not care to probe the obscure lives and activities of the great mass of humanity, upon whose slow toil was built up the prosperity of the world and who were the hidden foundation of the political and constitutional edifice reared by the famous men he praised. To speak of ordinary people would have been beneath the dignity of history. Carlyle struck a significant note of revolt: 'The thing I want to see,' he said, 'is not Red-book lists and Court Calendars and Parliamentary Registers, but the Life of Man in England: what men did, thought, suffered, enjoyed. . . . Mournful, in truth, it is to behold what the business called "History" in these so enlightened and illuminated times still continues to be. Can you gather from it, read till your eyes go out, any dimmest shadow of an answer to that great question: How men lived and had their being; were it but economically, as, what wages they got and what they bought with these? Unhappily you cannot. . . . History, as it stands all bound up in gilt volumes, is but a shade more instructive than the wooden volumes of a backgammon-board.'

Carlyle was a voice crying in the wilderness. Today the new history, whose way he prepared, has come. The present age differs from the centuries before it in its vivid realization of that much-neglected person the man in the street; or (as it was more often in the earliest ages) the man with the hoe. Today the historian is interested in the social life of the past and not only in the wars and intrigues of princes. To the modern writer, the fourteenth century, for instance, is not merely the century of the Hundred Years' War and of the Black Prince and Edward III; more significantly it is for him the era of the slow decay of villeinage in England, a fact more epoch-making, in the long run, than the struggle over our French provinces. We still praise famous men, for he would be a poor historian who could spare one of the great figures who have shed glory or romance upon the page of history; but we praise them with due recognition of the fact that not only great individuals, but people as a whole, unnamed and undistinguished masses of people, now sleeping in unknown graves, have also been concerned in the story. Our fathers that begat us have come to their own at last. As Acton put it, 'The great historian now takes his meals in the kitchen.'

This book is chiefly concerned with the kitchens of History, and the first which we shall visit is a country estate at the beginning of the ninth century. It so happens that we know a surprising amount about such an estate, partly because Charlemagne himself issued a set of orders instructing the Royal stewards how to manage his own lands, telling them everything it was necessary for them to know, down to the vegetables which they were to plant in the garden. But our chief source of knowledge is a wonderful estate book which Irminon, the Abbot of St Germain des Prés near Paris, drew up so that the abbey might know exactly what lands belonged to it and who lived on those lands, very much as William I drew up an estate book of his whole kingdom and called it *Domesday Book*. In this estate book is set down the name of every little estate (or *fisc* as it was called) belonging to the abbey, with a description of the land which was worked under its steward to its own profit, and the land which was held by tenants, and the names of those tenants and of their wives and of their children, and the exact services and rents, down to a plank and an egg, which they had to do for their land. We know today the name of almost every man, woman, and child who was living on those little *fiscs* in the time of Charlemagne, and a great deal about their daily lives.

Consider for a moment how the estate upon which they lived was organized. The lands of the Abbey of St Germain were divided into a number of estates, called *fiscs*, each of a convenient size to be administered by a steward. On each of these *fiscs* the land was divided into seigniorial and tributary lands; the first administered by the monks through a steward or some other officer, and the second possessed by various tenants, who received and held them from the abbey. These tributary lands were divided into numbers of little farms, called manses, each occupied by one or more families.

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If you had paid a visit to the chief or seigniorial manse, which the monks kept in their own hands, you would have found a little house, with three or four rooms, probably built of stone, facing an inner court, and on one side of it you would have seen a special group of houses hedged round, where the women serfs belonging to the house lived and did their work; all round you would also have seen little wooden houses, where the household serfs lived, workrooms, a kitchen, a bakehouse, barns, stables, and other farm buildings, and round the whole a hedge carefully planted with trees, so as to make a kind of enclosure or court. Attached to this central manse was a considerable amount of land – ploughland, meadows, vineyards, orchards, and almost all the woods or forests on the estate. Clearly a great deal of labour would be needed to cultivate all these lands. Some of that labour was provided by servile workers who were attached to the chief manse and lived in the court. But these household serfs were not nearly enough to do all the work upon the monks' land, and far the greater part of it had to be done by services paid by the other land-owners on the estate.

Beside the seigniorial manse, there were a number of little dependent manses. These belonged to men and women who were in various stages of freedom, except for the fact that all had to do work on the land of the chief manse. There is no need to trouble with the different classes, for in practice there was very little difference between them, and in a couple of centuries they were all merged into one common class of medieval villeins. The most important people were those called *coloni*, who were personally free (that is to say, counted as free men by the law), but bound to the soil, so they they could never leave their farms and were sold with the estate, if it were sold. Each of the dependent manses was held either by one family or by two or three families which clubbed together to do the work; it consisted of a house or houses, and farm buildings, like those of the chief manse, only poorer and made of wood, with ploughland and a meadow and perhaps a little piece of vineyard attached to it. In return for these holdings the owner or joint owners of every manse had to do work on the land of the chief manse for about three days in the week. The steward's chief business was to see that they did their work properly, and from every one he had the right to demand two kinds of labour. The first was *field work*: every year each man was bound to do a fixed amount of ploughing on the domain land (as it was called later on), and also to give what was called a *corvée*, that is to say, an unfixed amount of ploughing, which the steward could demand every week when it was needed; the distinction corresponds to the distinction between *week work* and *boon work* in the later Middle Ages. The second kind of labour which every owner of a farm had to do on the monks' land was called handwork, that is to say, he had to help repair buildings, or cut down trees, or gather fruit, or make ale, or carry loads—anything, in fact, which wanted doing and which the steward told him to do. It was by these services that the monks got their own seigniorial farm cultivated. On all the other days of the week these hard-worked tenants were free to cultivate their own little farms, and we may be sure that they put twice as much elbow grease into the business.

But their obligation did not end here, for not only had they to pay services, they also had to pay certain rents to the big house. There were no State taxes in those days, but every man had to pay an army due, which Charlemagne exacted from the abbey, and which the abbey exacted from its tenants; this took the form of an ox and a certain number of sheep, or the equivalent in money: 'He pays to the host two shillings of silver' comes first on every freeman's list of obligations. The farmers also had to pay in return for any special privileges granted to them by the monks; they had to carry a load of wood to the big house, in return for being allowed to gather firewood in the woods, which were jealously preserved for the use of the abbey; they had to pay some hogsheads of wine for the right to pasture their pigs in the same precious woods; every third year they had to give up one of their sheep for the right to graze upon the fields of the chief manse; they had to pay a sort of poll-tax of *4d.* a head. In addition to these special rents every farmer had also to pay other rents in produce; every year he owed the big house three chickens and fifteen eggs and a large number of planks, to repair its buildings; often he had to give it a couple of pigs; sometimes corn, wine, honey, wax, soap, or oil. If the farmer were also an artisan and made things, he had to pay the produce of his craft; a smith would have to make lances for the abbey's contingent to the army, a carpenter had to make barrels and hoops and vine props, a wheelwright had to make a cart. Even the wives of the farmers were kept busy, if they happened to be serfs; for the servile women were obliged to spin cloth or to make a garment for the big house every year.

All these things were exacted and collected by the steward, whom they called *Villicus*, or *Major* (Mayor). He was a very hard-worked man, and when one reads the seventy separate and particular injunctions which Charlemagne addressed to his stewards one cannot help feeling sorry for him. He had to get all the right services out of the tenants, and tell them what to do each week and see that they did it; he had to be careful that they brought the right number of eggs and pigs up to the house, and did not foist off warped or badly planed planks upon him. He had to look after the household serfs too, and set them to work. He had to see about storing, or selling, or sending off to the monastery the produce of the estate and of the tenants' rents; and every year he had to present a full and detailed account of his stewardship to the abbot. He had a manse of his own, with services and rents due from it, and Charlemagne exhorted his stewards to be prompt in their payments, so as to set a good example. Probably his official duties left him very little time to work on his own farm, and he would have to put in a man to work it for him, as Charlemagne bade his stewards do. Often, however, he had subordinate officials called *deans* under him, and sometimes the work of receiving and looking after the stores in the big house was done by a special cellarer.

That, in a few words, is the way in which the monks of St Germain and the other Frankish landowners of the time of Charlemagne managed their estates. Let us try, now, to look at those estates from a more human point of view and see what life was like to a farmer who lived upon them. The abbey possessed a little estate called Villaris, near Paris, in the place now occupied by the park of Saint Cloud. When we turn up the pages in the estate book dealing with Villaris, we find that there was a man called Bodo living there. He had a wife called Ermentrude and three children called Wido and Gerbert and Hildegard; and he owned a little farm of arable and meadow land, with a few vines. And we know very nearly as much about Bodo's work as we know about that of a smallholder in France today. Let us try and imagine a day in his life. On a fine spring morning towards the end of Charlemagne's reign Bodo gets up early, because it is his day to go and work on the monks' farm, and he does not dare to be late, for fear of the steward. To be sure, he has probably given the steward a present of eggs and vegetables the week before, to keep him in a good temper; but the monks will not allow their stewards to take big bribes (as is sometimes done on other estates), and Bodo knows that he will not be allowed to go late to work. It is his day to plough, so he takes his big ox with him and little Wido to run by its side with a goad, and he joins his friends from some of the farms near by, who are going to work at the big house too. They all assemble, some with horses and oxen, some with mattocks and hoes and spades and axes and scythes, and go off in gangs to work upon the fields and meadows and woods of the seigniorial manse, according as the steward orders them. The manse next door to Bodo is held by a group of families: Frambert and Ermoin and Ragenold, with their wives and children. Bodo bids them good morning as he passes. Frambert is going to make a fence round the wood, to prevent the rabbits from coming out and eating the young crops;

Ermoin has been told off to cart a great load of firewood up to the house; and Ragenold is mending a hole in the roof of a barn. Bodo goes whistling off in the cold with his oxen and his little boy; and it is no use to follow him farther, because he ploughs all day and eats his meal under a tree with the other ploughmen, and it is very monotonous.

Let us go back and see what Bodo's wife, Ermentrude, is doing. She is busy too; it is the day on which the chicken-rent is due – a fat pullet and five eggs in all. She leaves her second son, aged nine, to look after the baby Hildegard and calls on one of her neighbours, who has to go up to the big house too. The neighbour is a serf and she has to take the steward a piece of woollen cloth, which will be sent away to St Germain to make a habit for a monk. Her husband is working all day in the lord's vineyards, for on this estate the serfs generally tend the vines, while the freemen do most of the ploughing. Ermentrude and the serf's wife go together up to the house. There all is busy. In the men's workshop are several clever workmen – a shoemaker, a carpenter, a blacksmith, and two silversmiths; there are not more, because the best artisans on the estates of St Germain live by the walls of the abbey, so that they can work for the monks on the spot and save the labour of carriage. But there were always some craftsmen on every estate, either attached as serfs to the big house, or living on manses of their own, and good landowners tried to have as many clever craftsmen as possible. Charlemagne ordered his stewards each to have in his district 'good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, swordmakers, fishermen, foilers, soapmakers, men who know how to make beer, cider, perry, and all other kinds of beverages, bakers to make pasty for our table, netmakers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing, and fowling, and others too many to be named'. And some of these workmen are to be found working for the monks in the estate of Villaris.

But Ermentrude does not stop at the men's workshop. She finds the steward, bobs her curtsy to him, and gives up her fowl and eggs, and then she hurries off to the women's part of the house, to gossip with the serfs there. The Franks used at this time to keep the women of their household in a separate quarter, where they did the work which was considered suitable for women, very much as the Greeks of antiquity used to do. If a Frankish noble had lived at the big house, his wife would have looked after their work, but as no one lived in the stone house at Villaris, the steward had to oversee the women. Their quarter consisted of a little group of houses, with a workroom, the whole surrounded by a thick hedge with a strong bolted gate, like a harem, so that no one could come in without leave. Their workrooms were comfortable places, warmed by stoves, and there Ermentrude (who, being a woman, was allowed to go in) found about a dozen servile women spinning and dyeing cloth and sewing garments. Every week the harassed steward brought them the raw materials for their work and took away what they made. Charlemagne gives his stewards several instructions about the women attached to his manses, and we may be sure that the monks of St Germain did the same on their model estates. 'For our women's work,' says Charlemagne, 'they are to give at the proper time the materials, that is linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels, and other objects which are necessary. And let our women's quarters be well looked after, furnished with houses and rooms with stoves and cellars, and let them be surrounded by a good hedge, and let the doors be strong, so that the women can do our work properly.' Ermentrude, however, has to hurry away after her gossip, and so must we. She goes back to her own farm and sets to work in the little vineyard; then after an hour or two goes back to get the children's meal and to spend the rest of the day in weaving warm woollen clothes for them. All her friends are either working in the fields on their husbands' farms or else looking after the poultry, or the vegetables, or sewing at home; for the women have to work just as hard as the men on a country farm. In Charlemagne's time (for instance) they did nearly all the sheep shearing. Then at last Bodo comes back for his supper, and as soon as the sun goes down they go to bed; for their hand-made candle gives only a flicker of light, and they both have to be up early in the morning. De Quincey once pointed out, in his inimitable manner, how the ancients everywhere went to bed, 'like good boys, from seven to nine o'clock'. 'Man went to bed early in those ages simply because his worthy mother earth could not afford him candles. She, good old lady . . . would certainly have shuddered to hear of any of her nations asking for candles. "Candles indeed!" she would have said; "who ever heard of such a thing? and with so much excellent daylight running to waste, as I have provided *gratis*! What will the wretches want next?"' Something of the same situation prevailed even in Bodo's time.

This, then, is how Bodo and Ermentrude usually passed their working day. But, it may be complained, this is all very well. We know about the estates on which these peasants lived and about the rents which they had to pay, and the services which they had to do. But how did they feel and think and amuse themselves when they were not working? Rents and services are only outside things; an estate book only describes routine. It would be idle to try to picture the life of a university from a study of its lecture list, and it is equally idle to try and describe the life of Bodo from the estate book of his masters. It is no good taking your meals in the kitchen if you never talk to the servants. This is true, and to arrive at Bodo's thoughts and feelings and holiday amusements we must bid good-bye to Abbot Irminon's estate book, and peer into some very dark corners indeed; for though by the aid of Chaucer and Langland and a few Court Rolls it is possible to know a great deal about the feelings of a peasant six centuries later, material is scarce in the ninth century, and it is all the more necessary to remember the secret of the invisible ink.

Bodo certainly *had* plenty of feelings, and very strong ones. When he got up in the frost on a cold morning to drive the plough over the abbot's acres, when his own were calling out for work, he often shivered and shook the rime from his beard, and wished that the big house and all its land were at the bottom of the sea (which, as a matter of fact, he had never seen and could not imagine). Or else he wished he were the abbot's huntsman, hunting in the forest; or a monk of St Germain, singing sweetly in the abbey church; or a merchant, taking bales of cloaks and girdles along the high road to Paris; anything, in fact, but a poor ploughman ploughing other people's land. An Anglo-Saxon writer has imagined a dialogue with him:

> 'Well, ploughman, how do you do your work?' 'Oh, sir, I work very hard. I go out in the dawning, driving the oxen to the field and I yoke them to the plough. Be the winter never so stark, I dare not stay at home for fear of my lord; but every day I must plough a full acre or more, after having yoked the oxen and fastened the share and coulter to the plough!' 'Have you any mate?' 'I have a boy, who drives the oxen with a goad, who is now hoarse from cold and shouting.' (Poor little Wido!) 'Well, well, it is very hard work?' 'Yes, indeed it is very hard work.'

Nevertheless, hard as the work was, Bodo sang lustily to cheer himself and Wido; for is it not related that once, when a clerk was singing the 'Allelulia' in the emperor's presence, Charles turned to one of the bishops, saying, 'My clerk is singing very well,' whereat the rude bishop replied, 'Any clown in our countryside drones as well as that to his oxen at their ploughing'? It is certain too that Bodo agreed with the names which the great Charles gave to the months of the year in his own Frankish tongue; for he called January 'Winter-month', February 'Mud-month', March 'Spring-month', April 'Easter-month', May 'Joy-month', June 'Plough-month', July 'Hay-month', August 'Harvest-month', September 'Wind-month', October 'Vintage-month', November 'Autumn-month', and December 'Holy-month'.

And Bodo was a superstitious creature. The Franks had been Christian now for many years, but Christian though they were, the peasants clung to old beliefs and superstitions. On the estates of the holy monks of St Germain you would have found the country people saying charms which were hoary with age, parts of the lay sung by the Frankish ploughman over his bewitched land long before he marched southwards into the Roman Empire, or parts of the spell which the bee-master performed when he swarmed his bees on the shores of the Baltic Sea. Christianity has coloured these charms, but it has not effaced their heathen origin; and because the tilling of the soil is the oldest and most unchanging of human occupations, old beliefs and superstitions cling to it and the old gods stalk up and down the brown furrows, when they have long vanished from houses and roads. So on Abbot Irminon's estates the peasant-farmers muttered charms over their sick cattle (and over their sick children too) and said incantations over the fields to make them fertile. If you had followed behind Bodo when he broke his first furrow you would have probably seen him take out of his jerkin a little cake, baked for him by Ermentrude out of different kinds of meal, and you would have seen him stoop and lay it under the furrow and sing:

Earth, Earth, Earth! O Earth, our mother!
May the All-Wielder, Ever-Lord grant thee
Acres a-waxing, upwards a-growing,
Pregnant with corn and plenteous in strength;
Hosts of grain shafts and of glittering plants!
Of broad barley the blossoms,
And of white wheat ears waxing,
Of the whole land the harvest. . . .

. . . . .

Acre, full-fed, bring forth fodder for men!
Blossoming brightly, blessed become!
And the God who wrought with earth grant us gift of growing
That each of all the corns may come unto our need.

Then he would drive his plough through the acre.

The Church wisely did not interfere with these old rites. It taught Bodo to pray to the Ever-Lord instead of to Father Heaven, and to the Virgin Mary instead of to Mother Earth, and with these changes let the old spell he had learned from his ancestors serve him still. It taught him, for instance, to call on Christ and Mary in his charm for bees. When Ermentrude heard her bees swarming, she stood outside her cottage and said this little charm over them:

Christ, there is a swarm of bees outside,
Fly hither, my little cattle,
In blest peace, in God's protection,
Come home safe and sound.
Sit down, sit down, bee,
St Mary commanded thee.

Thou shalt not have leave,
Thou shalt not fly to the wood.
Thou shalt not escape me,
Nor go away from me.
Sit very still,
Wait God's will!

And if Bodo on his way home saw one of his bees caught in a brier bush, he immediately stood still and wished – as some people wish today when they go under a ladder. It was the Church, too, which taught Bodo to add 'So be it, Lord', to the end of his charm against pain. Now, his ancestors for generations behind him had believed that if you had a stitch in your side, or a bad pain anywhere, it came from a worm in the marrow of your bones, which was eating you up, and that the only way to get rid of that worm was to put a knife, or an arrow-head, or some other piece of metal to the sore place, and then wheedle the worm out on to the blade by saying a charm. And this was the charm which Bodo's heathen ancestors had always said and which Bodo went on saying when little Wido had a pain: 'Come out, worm, with nine little worms, out from the marrow into the bone, from the bone into the flesh, from the flesh into the skin, from the skin into this arrow.' And then (in obedience to the Church) he added 'So be it, Lord'. But sometimes it was not possible to read a Christian meaning into Bodo's doings. Sometimes he paid visits to some man who was thought to have a wizard's powers, or superstitiously reverenced some twisted tree, about which there hung old stories never quite forgotten. Then the Church was stern. When he went to confession the priest would ask him: 'Have you consulted magicians and enchanters, have you made vows to trees and fountains, have you drunk any magic philtre?' And he would have to confess what he did last time his cow was sick. But the Church was kind as well as stern. 'When serfs come to you,' we find one bishop telling his priests, 'you must not give them as many fasts to perform as rich men. Put upon them only half the penance.' The Church knew well enough that Bodo could not drive his plough all day upon an empty stomach. The hunting, drinking, feasting Frankish nobles could afford to lose a meal.

It was from this stern and yet kind Church that Bodo got his holidays. For the Church made the pious emperor decree that on Sundays and saints' days no servile or other works should be done. Charlemagne's son repeated his decree in 827. It runs thus:

We ordain according to the law of God and to the command of our father of blessed memory in his edicts, that no servile works shall be done on Sundays, neither shall men perform their rustic labours, tending vines, ploughing fields, reaping corn and mowing hay, setting up hedges or fencing woods, cutting trees, or working in quarries or building houses; nor shall they work in the garden, nor come to the law courts, nor follow the chase. But three carrying-services it is lawful to do on Sunday, to wit carrying for the army, carrying food, or carrying (if need be) the body of a lord to its grave. Item, women shall not do their textile works, nor cut out clothes, nor stitch them together with the needle, nor card wool, nor beat hemp, nor wash clothes in public, nor shear sheep: so that there may be rest on the Lord's day. But let them come together from all sides to Mass in the Church and praise God for all the good things He did for us on that day!

Unfortunately, however, Bodo and Ermentrude and their friends were not content to go quietly to church on saints' days and quietly home again. They used to spend their holidays in dancing and singing and buffoonery, as country folk have always done until our own gloomier, more self-conscious age. They were very merry and not at all refined, and the place they always chose for their dances was the churchyard; and unluckily the songs they sang as they danced in a ring were old pagan songs of their forefathers, left over from old Mayday festivities, which they could not forget, or ribald love-songs which the Church disliked. Over and over again we find the Church councils complaining that the peasants (and sometimes the priests too) were singing 'wicked songs with a chorus of dancing women,' or holding 'ballads and dancings and evil and wanton songs and such-like lures of the devil'; over and over again the bishops forbade these songs and dances; but in vain. In every country in Europe, right through the Middle Ages to the time of the Reformation, and after it, country folk continued to sing and dance in the churchyard. Two hundred years after Charlemagne's death there grew up the legend of the dancers of Kölbigk, who danced on Christmas Eve in the churchyard, in spite of the warning of the priest, and all got rooted to the spot for a year, till the Archbishop of Cologne released them. Some men say that they were not rooted standing to the spot, but that they had to go on dancing for the whole year; and that before they were released they had danced themselve waist-deep into the ground. People used to repeat the little Latin verse which they were singing:

Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam
Ducebat sibi Merswindem formosam.
Quid stamus? Cur non imus?

Through the leafy forest, Bovo went a-riding
And his pretty Merswind trotted on beside him—
Why are we standing still? Why can't we go away?

Another later story still is told about a priest in Worcestershire who was kept awake all right by the people dancing in his churchyard and singing a song with the refrain 'Sweetheart have pity', so that he could not get it out of his head, and the next morning at Mass, instead of saying 'Dominus vobiscum', he said 'Sweetheart have pity', and there was a dreadful scandal which got into a chronicle.

Sometimes our Bodo did not dance himself, but listened to the songs of wandering minstrels. The priests did not at all approve of these minstrels, who (they said) would certainly go to hell for singing profane secular songs, all about the great deeds of heathen heroes of the Frankish race, instead of Christian hymns. But Bodo loved them, and so did Bodo's betters; the Church councils had sometimes even to rebuke abbots and abbesses for listening to their songs. And the worst of it was that the great emperor himself, the good Charlemagne, loved them too. He would always listen to a minstrel, and his biographer, Einhard tells us that 'He wrote out the barbarous and ancient songs, in which the acts of the kings and their wars were sung, and committed them to memory'; and one at least of those old sagas, which he liked men to write down, has been preserved on the cover of a Latin manuscript, where a monk scribbled it in his spare time. His son, Louis the Pious, was very different: he rejected the national poems, which he had learnt in his youth, and would not have them read or recited or taught; he would not allow minstrels to have justice in the law courts, and he forbade idle dances and songs and tales in public places on Sundays; but then he also dragged down his father's kingdom into disgrace and ruin. The minstrels repaid Charlemagne for his kindness to them. They gave him everlasting fame; for all through the Middle Ages the legend of Charlemagne grew, and he shares with our King Arthur the honour of being the hero of one of the greatest romance-cycles of the Middle Ages. Every different century clad him anew in its own dress and sang new lays about him. What the monkish chroniclers in their cells could never do for Charlemagne, these despised and accursed minstrels did for him: they gave him what is perhaps more desirable and more lasting than a place in history – they gave him a place in legend. It is not every emperor who rules in those realms of gold of which Keats spoke, as well as in the kingdoms of the world; and in the realms of gold Charlemagne reigns with King Arthur, and his peers joust with the Knights of the Round Table. Bodo, at any rate, benefited by Charles's love of minstrels, and it is probable that he heard in the lifetime of the emperor himself the first beginnings of those legends which afterwards clung to the name of Charlemagne. One can imagine him round-eyed in the churchyard, listening to fabulous stories of Charles's Iron March to Pavia, such as a gossiping old monk of St Gall afterwards wrote down in his chronicle.

It is likely enough that such legends were the nearest Bodo ever came to seeing the emperor, of whom even the poor serfs who never followed him to court or camp were proud. But Charles was a great traveller: like all the monarchs of the early Middle Ages he spent the time, when he was not warring, in trekking round his kingdom, staying at one of his estates, until he and his household had literally eaten their way through it, and then passing on to another. And sometimes he varied the procedure by paying a visit to the estates of his bishops or nobles, who entertained him royally. It may be that one day he came on a visit to Bodo's masters and stopped at the big house on his way to Paris, and then Bodo saw him plain; for Charlemagne would come riding along the road in his jerkin of otter skin, and his plain blue cloak (Einhard tells us that he hated grand clothes and on ordinary days dressed like the common people); and after him would come his three sons and his bodyguard, and then his five daughters. Einhard has also told us that

> He had such care of the upbringing of his sons and daughters that he never dined without them when he was at home and never travelled without them. His sons rode along with him and his daughters followed in the rear. Some of his guards, chosen for this very purpose, watched the end of the line of march where his daughters travelled. They were very beautiful and much beloved by their father, and, therefore, it is strange that he would give them in marriage to no one, either among his own people or of a foreign state. But up to his death he kept them all at home saying he could not forgo their society.

Then, with luck, Bodo, quaking at the knees, might even behold a portent new to his experience, the emperor's elephant. Haroun El Raschid, the great Sultan of the 'Arabian Nights' had sent it to Charles, and it accompanied him on all his progresses. Its name was 'Abu-Lubabah', which is an Arabic word and means 'the father of intelligence',* and it died a hero's death on an expedition against the Danes in 810. It is certain that ever afterwards Ermentrude quelled little Gerbert, when he was naughty, with the threat, 'Abu-Lubabah will come with his long nose and carry you off.' But Wido, being aged eight and a bread-winner, professed to have felt no fear on being confronted with the elephant; but admitted when pressed, that he greatly preferred Haroun El Raschid's other present to the emperor, the friendly dog, who answered to the name of 'Becerillo'.

It would be a busy time for Bodo when all these great folk came, for everything would have to be cleaned before their arrival, the pastry cooks and sausage-makers summoned and a great feast prepared; and though the household serfs did most of the work, it is probable that he had to help. The gossipy old monk of St Gall has given us some amusing pictures of the excitement when Charles suddenly paid a visit to his subjects:

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* *Abu-Lubabah.* – It is remarkable that the name should have suffered no corruption in the chronicles.

There was a certain bishopric which lay full in Charles's path when he journeyed, and which indeed he could hardly avoid: and the bishop of this place, always anxious to give satisfaction, put everything that he had at Charles's disposal. But once the Emperor came quite unexpectedly and the bishop in great anxiety had to fly hither and thither like a swallow, and had not only the palaces and houses but also the courts and squares swept and cleaned: and then, tired and irritated, came to meet him. The most pious Charles noticed this, and after examining all the various details, he said to the bishop: 'My kind host, you always have everything splendidly cleaned for my arrival.' Then the bishop, as if divinely inspired, bowed his head and grasped the king's never-conquered right hand, and hiding his irritation, kissed it and said: 'It is but right, my lord, that, wherever you come, all things should be thoroughly cleansed.' Then Charles, of all kings the wisest, understanding the state of affairs said to him: 'If I empty I can also fill.' And he added: 'You may have that estate which lies close to your bishopric, and all your successors may have it until the end of time.' In the same journey, too, he came to a bishop who lived in a place through which he must needs pass. Now on that day, being the sixth day of the week, he was not willing to eat the flesh of beast or bird; and the bishop, being by reason of the nature of the place unable to procure fish upon the sudden, ordered some excellent cheese, rich and creamy, to be placed before him. And the most self-restrained Charles, with the readiness which he showed everywhere and on all occasions, spared the blushes of the bishop and required no better fare; but taking up his knife cut off the skin, which he thought unsavoury and fell to on the white of the cheese. Thereupon the bishop, who was standing near like a servant, drew closer and said: 'Why do you do that, lord emperor? You are throwing away the very best part.' Then Charles, who deceived no one, and did not believe that anyone would deceive him, on the persuasion of the bishop put a piece of the skin in his mouth, and slowly ate it and swallowed it like butter. Then approving of the advice of the bishop, he said: 'Very true, my good host,' and he added: 'Be sure to send me every year to Aix two cartloads of just such cheeses.' And the bishop was alarmed at the impossibility of the task and, fearful of losing both his rank and his office, he rejoined: 'My lord, I can procure the cheeses, but I cannot tell which are of this quality and which of another. Much I fear lest I fall under your censure.' Then Charles, from whose penetration and skill nothing could escape, however new or strange it might be, spoke thus to the bishop, who from childhood had known such cheeses and yet could not test them: 'Cut them in two,' he said, 'then fasten together with a skewer those that you find to be of the right quality and keep them in your cellar for a time and then send them to me. The rest you may keep for yourself and your clergy and your family.' This was done for two years, and the king ordered the present of cheeses to be taken in without remark: then in the third year the bishop brought in person his laboriously collected cheeses. But the most just Charles pitied his labour and anxiety and added to the bishopric an excellent estate whence he and his successors might provide themselves with corn and wine.

We may feel sorry for the poor flustered bishop collecting his two cartloads of cheeses; but it is possible that our real sympathy ought to go to Bodo, who probably had to pay an extra rent in cheeses to satisfy the emperor's taste, and got no excellent estate to recompense him.

A visit from the emperor, however, would be a rare event in his life, to be talked about for years and told to his grandchildren. But there was one other event, which happened annually, and which was certainly looked for with excitement by Bodo and his friends. For once a year the king's itinerant justices, the *Missi Dominici*, came round to hold their court and to see if the local counts had been doing justice. Two of them would come, a bishop and a count, and they would perhaps stay a night at the big house as guests of the abbot, and the next day they would go on to Paris, and there they would sit and do justice in the open square before the church and from all the district round great men and small, nobles and freemen and *coloni*, would bring their grievances and demand redress. Bodo would go too, if anyone had injured or robbed him, and would make his complaint to the judges. But if he were canny he would not go to them empty-handed, trusting to justice alone. Charlemagne was very strict, but unless the *missi* were exceptionally honest and pious they would not be averse to taking bribes. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, who was one of the Emperor's *missi*, has left us a most entertaining Latin poem, in which he describes the attempts of the clergy and laymen, who flocked to his court, to buy justice. Every one according to his means brought a present; the rich offered money, precious stones, fine materials, and Eastern carpets, arms, horses, antique vases of gold or silver chiselled with representations of the labours of Hercules. The poor brought skins of Cordova leather, tanned and untanned, excellent pieces of cloth and linen (poor Ermentrude must have worked hard for the month before the justices came!), boxes, and wax. 'With this battering-ram,' cries the shocked Bishop Theodulf, 'they hope to break down the wall of my soul. But they would not have thought that they could shake *me*, if they had not so shaken other judges before.' And indeed, if his picture be true, the royal justices must have been followed about by a regular caravan of carts and horses to carry their presents. Even Theodulf has to admit that, in order not to hurt people's feelings, he was obliged to accept certain unconsidered trifles in the shape of eggs and bread and wine and chickens and little birds, 'whose bodies' (he says, smacking his lips) 'are small, but very good to eat.' One seems to detect the anxious face of Bodo behind those eggs and little birds.

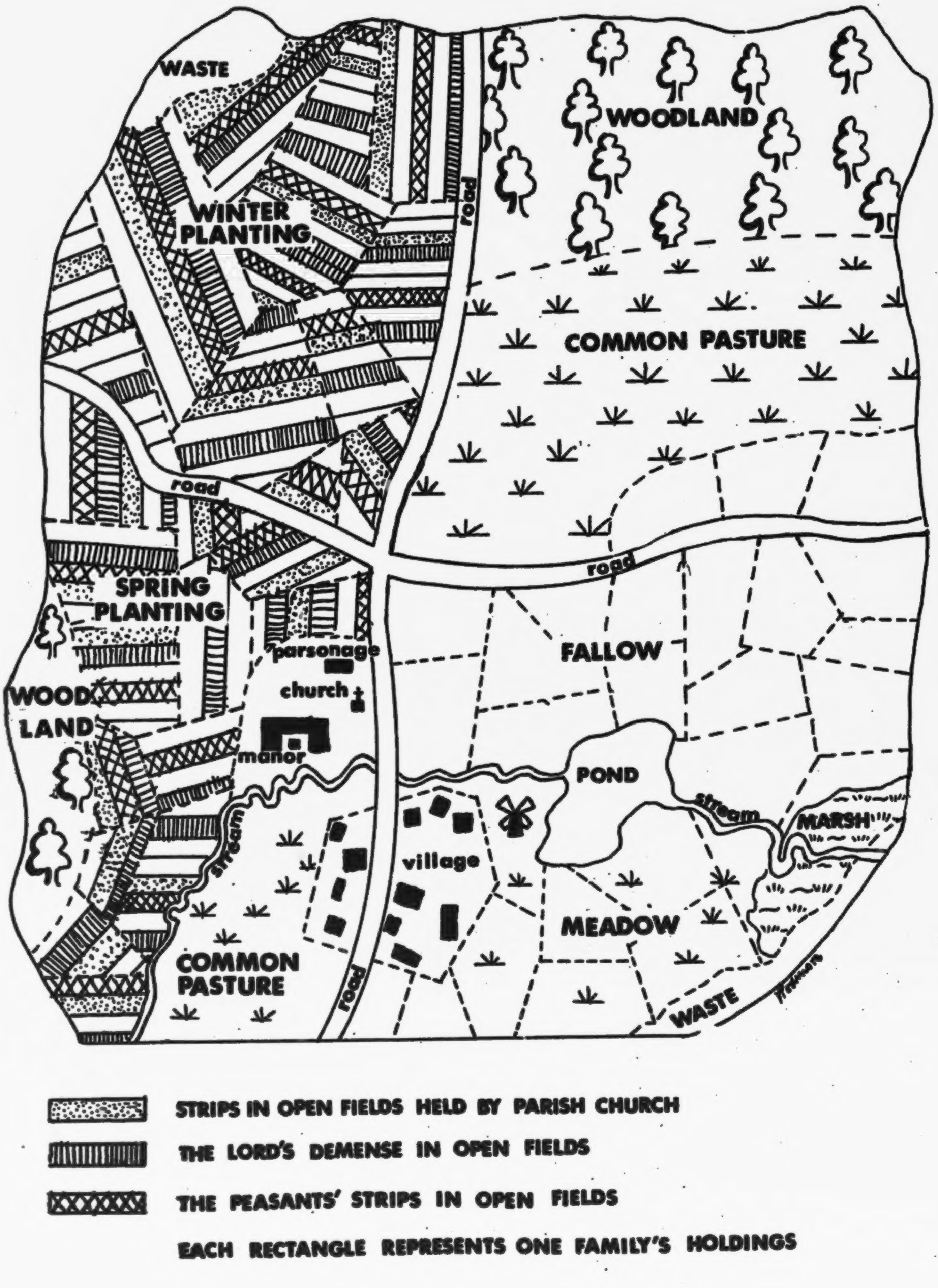
Another treat Bodo had which happened once a year; for regularly on the ninth of October there began the great fair of St Denys, which went on for a whole month, outside the gates of Paris. Then for a week before the fair little booths and sheds sprang up, with open fronts in which the merchants could display their wares, and the Abbey of St Denys, which had the right to take a toll of all the merchants who came there to sell, saw to it that the fair was well enclosed with fences, and that all came in by the gates and paid their money, for wily merchants were sometimes known to burrow under fences or climb over them so as to avoid the toll. Then the streets of Paris were crowded with merchants bringing their goods, packed in carts and upon horses and oxen; and on the opening day all regular trade in Paris stopped for a month, and every Parisian shopkeeper was in a booth somewhere in the fair, exchanging the corn and wine and honey of the district for rarer goods from foreign parts. Bodo's abbey probably had a stall in the fair and sold some of those pieces of cloth woven by the serfs in the women's quarter, or cheeses and salted meat prepared on the estates, or wine paid in rent by Bodo and his fellow-farmers. Bodo would certainly take a holiday and go to the fair. In fact, the steward would probably have great difficulty in keeping his men at work during the month; Charlemagne had to give a special order to his stewards that they should 'be careful that our men do properly the work which it is lawful to exact from them, and that they do not waste their time in running about to markets and fairs'. Bodo and Ermentrude and the three children, all attired in their best, did not consider it waste of time to go to the fair even twice or three times. They pretended that they wanted to buy salt to salt down their winter meat, or some vermilion dye to colour a frock for the baby. What they really wanted was to wander along the little rows of booths and look at all the strange things assembled there; for merchants came to St Denys to sell their rich goods from the distant East to Bodo's betters, and wealthy Frankish nobles bargained there for purple and silken robes with orange borders, stamped leather jerkins, peacock's feathers, and the scarlet plumage of flamingos (which they called 'phoenix skins'), scents and pearls and spices, almonds and raisins, and monkeys for their wives to play with. Sometimes these merchants were Venetians, but more often they were Syrians or crafty Jews, and Bodo and his fellows laughed loudly over the story of how a Jewish merchant had tricked a certain bishop, who craved for all the latest novelties, by stuffing a mouse with spices and offering it for sale to him, saying that 'he had brought this most precious never-before-seen animal from Judea,' and refusing to take less than a whole measure of silver for it. In exchange for their luxuries these merchants took away with them Frisian cloth, which was greatly esteemed, and corn and hunting dogs, and sometimes a piece of fine goldsmith's work, made in a monastic workshop. And Bodo would hear a hundred dialects and tongues, for men of Saxony and Frisia, Spain and Provence, Rouen and Lombardy, and perhaps an Englishman or two, jostled each other in the little streets; and from time to time there came also an Irish scholar with a manuscript to sell, and the strange, sweet songs of Ireland on his lips:

A hedge of trees surrounds me,
A blackbird's lay sings to me;
Above my lined booklet
The thrilling birds chant to me.

In a grey mantle from the top of bushes
The cuckoo sings:
Verily – may the Lord shield me! –
Well do I write under the greenwood.

Then there were always jugglers and tumblers, and men with performing bears, and minstrels to wheedle Bodo's few pence out of his pocket. And it would be a very tired and happy family that trundled home in the cart to bed. For it is not, after all, so dull in the kitchen, and when we have quite finished with the emperor, 'Charlemagne and all his peerage', it is really worth while to spend a few moments with Bodo in his little manse. History is largely made up of Bodos.

# MODEL OF A MEDIEVAL MANOR


WASTE
WOODLAND
road
WINTER PLANTING
COMMON PASTURE
road
road
SPRING PLANTING
parsonage
church
WOOD LAND
manor
FALLOW
POND
stream
MARSH
village
stream
MEADOW
COMMON PASTURE
road
WASTE

░ STRIPS IN OPEN FIELDS HELD BY PARISH CHURCH

▥ THE LORD'S DEMENSE IN OPEN FIELDS

▩ THE PEASANTS' STRIPS IN OPEN FIELDS

EACH RECTANGLE REPRESENTS ONE FAMILY'S HOLDINGS

# EXPENSE ACCOUNT

The document which follows is the rendering by a steward of the annual expenses of an English Manor ca. 1250. It is to be used to study manorial economic and social relationships and is prototypic of the economic structure of English manorial life during this period.

The questions presented for student inquiry should lead to the following concepts and historical insights (among others) regarding the society in question:

1. The relationship between lord-serf during this period has "loosened" considerably- due particularly to the introduction of a money economy.
2. Manorial life in England at this time was less isolated (i.e., there was considerably more extra-manorial cultural contact) than in France during the Carolingian period.
3. Services relative to the cost of goods were less expensive during this period than they are in modern, largely service-oriented, economics.
4. As the economic relationship between lord-serf changes, corresponding changes can be seen in their social and political relationship.

The student problem is divided into two parts which should be assigned separately. The first asks that the student deal only with the document at hand, gleaning all available data and information inductively. Part II of the problem requires that the student test this information against secondary source interpretations of manorial economics, requiring him to read and research quite extensively in order to locate the document in time and place.

# EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Part I:

The following document is a primary source expense account record from a manor in Northern Europe during the medieval period. Read it carefully and answer the following questions in an essay.

1. What type of person wrote this account? To what social or occupational class does he belong?
2. What is the most obvious difference between the economic system of this society and that of the peasant, Bodo?
3. What are the value equivalences of the measurement units noted in this document? (How many pennies (d) are there in a shilling? How many shillings in a pound (L)?)
4. What products or services are relatively most expensive in this society? Comment regarding the relative costs of products and labor. Are there any particular goods or services which appear to you to be "overpriced" (relative to their cost in modern economic systems)? Why might these be so expensive in a manorial community?
5. How large a geographic area does this account seem to deal with?
6. What information does the document convey regarding extra-manorial trading practices in this society?
7. Does the lord-serf relationship here appear to be the same as it was in the description of the Abbot of St. Germaine's relationship to the peasant Bodo?

You have two days to complete your study of the document and write your essay. You may use one class period to work in small groups, consult with classmates, etc. regarding your responses to these questions. You need not consult any reference sources or outside readings in working on this problem--you are to work from the document only.

## EXPENSES

Quittances of his own rent. In quittance of his own rent of Wateriland 1d.: and for present bread 2d.: and for saltsilver 1/2d. Total 3 1/2d.

Cost of the plows. For 6 pieces of steel bought for the plows 5s 10d.: for 3 pieces of steel bought for the same 3s. 7d.: for 1 piece of steel bought 15d.: for 6 wheels bought 18d.: for poles bought for the third plow 2 1/2d.: for the wages of the blacksmith for repairing the plowshares between the feast of St. James and the feast of St. Michael, 2s.: for shoeing the draught horses in the same period 18 1/2d.

Likewise in payment of the blacksmith for the repair of the plowshares between the feast of St. Michael and the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 3s.: for shoeing the draught horses during the same time 18d. In payment to the blacksmith for mending the plowshares between the feast of St. Thomas and the feast of the Annunciation 2s. 1d.: for shoeing the draught horses during the same time 16d. Likewise in payment to the blacksmith for repair of the plowshares between the feast of the Annunciation and the feast of St. James, 4s. 6d. For shoeing the draught horses during the same time 17d. For 4 horse-shoes bought, 16d.: for 2 trees for timber for the plows 3s.: for cutting down and hauling the same 4d. Total 34s.4 d.

Cost of the carts. For 17 clouts bought, 21d.: for 100 clout nails bought, 2 1/2d.: for 1 pair of packsaddles and 3 collars bought 3s. For 1 pair of traces bought, 6d.: for leather bought for harness 12d.: for 51 lbs. of grease, 15d. at 3d. per pound: for 1 pair of wheels without tires bought, 2s. 4d.: for 1 rear cord bought 1 1/2d.: for the shoeing of 2 cart-horses between the feast of St. James and the feast of St. Michael 18d.: and the feast of St. Michael and the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle 19d.: and between the feast of St. Thomas and the Annunciation 20d. For the shoeing of 3 cart-horses from the feast of the Annunciation to the feast of St. James 2s. 1 1/2d. Total 17s. 3 d.

Small necessary Expenses. For 2 hair ropes bought, of which one was of 6 fathoms and another of 11 fathoms, for keeping the draught horses in the pasture 9d.: for iron bought at Pyrtone 22s.: for iron bought from Robert Wayland 18d.: for a dish of meat and 4 other dishes because it was autumn 4d.: for 6 bushels of salt bought, 12s.: for 3 bushels of salt bought, 3s. 6d.: for the custom of the cotters for carrying the fold 2d.: for 7 1/2 quarters of drage bought for feeding the swine 4s. 10d., at different prices.

For brushwood bought for the hearths, 3s. 6d.: for 3 quarters and 2 bushes of gleanings bought for the swine, of which 5 bushels were sent to Oxford 3s. 8d., the price per quarter being 2s, 8d.: for 1 knife bought for cutting the vegetables for the servants: for rods bought for wattling the fold 2d.: for 12 clouts bought for the fold 2s.: for rods bought for the harrows 2 1/2d.: for fines bought 18d.: given for the tithe of 7 calves sold, 13 1/4d.: and for the tithe of 3 calves remaining 1 1/2d.: and for the tithe of 1 lamb, 1/2d.: and for the tithe of 4 skins sold, 1/2d. For milk bought for the lambs 4 1/2d.: for washing and shearing the sheep, 6d.: for making 4 halters of horsehair 1d.: for expenses of the reeve at Henley for 6 days, selling grain 9d.: for the expenses of the clerk when he made the account 12d.: for parchment bought for the account

1 1/2d.: for pasture bought at Pyrtone, 18d.: for hay bought for next year, 22s 3d. Total 4L, 9s 8 1/4d.

Cost of the Dairy. For rennet bought, 6d.: for cloth bought for the dairy, 3d.: for pots bought, 3 1/2d. Total 12 1/2d.

Purchase of Grain. For 2 quarters and 2 bushels of oats bought on account of the lack of threshing, 9s., the price of a quarter being 4s.: for 5 bushels of vetches bought, 7s. 6d., the price of a bushel being 18d.: for 1 quarter of barley bought, 10s. 2d. Total 45s. 11 1/2d.

Purchase of Animals. For 1 draught horse bought on St. James' Day 22s. 6 1/4d.: for 1 draught horse bought in Easter week 14s 4d.: for one cow bought in the autumn before calving, 11s. 1d. Total 45s. 11 1/2d.

Cost of the Buildings. For one man and his helper hired for 22 days to put a roof on 2 bars, a hay mow, and the kitchen, 11s., being 6d a day: for 2 women helping them for 10 days, 3s., being 2d. a day. For 1000 lath-nails bought, 11d.: for poles bought for prys, 6d. For one man hired for 4 days to roof 2 cottages of the vill. 16d., at 4d a day: for poles bought for prys, 2d.: for one woman helping him 4d. For 2 quarters of lime bought, 8d. Total 17s. 11d.

Cost of the Mill. For timber bought to renew the water wheel of the mill: for nails bought for the same 6d. Total 3s. 10d.

Threshing and Winnowing. For the expenses of Peter of Vantage while he was having the threshing done, 5s. 2d.: for the threshing of 9 quarters and 6 bushels of wheat by task, before the feast of St. Michael, 3s, 3d., the price of a quarter being 4d.: for 3 bushels of wheat threshed, at task, after the feast of St. Michael, 9d. For the winnowing of the same 2d., because the dairyman winnowed one-half. For the threshing of 12 quarters and 1 bushel of wheat and 2 1/2 quarters of peas in the time of master John of Tube, 3s. 7 3/4d., the price of a quarter being 3d.: for winnowing the same 2 1/2d., because the dairyman winnowed one half, being 3 quarters for 1d. For the expenses of master John of Tube while he was having the threshing done, 7s. 4 3/4d., besides some wheat.

For the expenses of John of Odiham while he was having the threshing done, 22d., besides some of the produce of the oats. For the expenses of master Walter of Durton while he was having the threshing done, 3s. 3d., for the same time. For the expenses of master John of Crofton while he was having the threshing done, 8d., besides some of the wheat. For the threshing of 1 quarter and 3 bushels of wheat in the time of Walter of Durton, 4 1/4d.: for the winnowing of the same, 1 farthing. Total 27s. 6 1/2d.

Weeding and Mowing. For 20 men hired for 8 days to pull bitter weeds and cut thistles in the grain, 13s. 4d., a penny a day for each one. For the custom of the mowers for medsipe, for hauling hay 2d.: for the custom of 12 cottagers stacking hay, 6d. For mowing the garden, 2s. 1d. Total 16s. 7d.

Autumn Expenses. For reaping 33 acres and 1 rood of wheat, at task, 22s. 10d., during the time of master William Boliner, the price of an acre being 8d. For reaping 44 1/2 acres of drage and oats at task, 31s. 9 1/2d., the price of an acre being 7d., through the same time. For reaping 6 acres of drage and oats, at task, 3s., during the same time, the price of an acre being 6d. For the expenses of master William Boliner, Peter of Mantage, the reeve, hayward, and dairyman through 4 weeks in autumn, and at the coming of the keeper and others who came after, 15s. 1d., through the same time. For 3 men hired at the park of Pyrtone, 6d.

Total 73s. 2 1/2d.

Wages of Servants. For the wages of 2 hostlers in the winter season, 4s., also for 2 drivers, 3s., also for the carter, 2s., also for the shepherd 12d., and not more because he kept the sheep of others; also to the cowherd in winter, 12d., likewise to the dairyman, 12d. For the payment to the clerk who drew up the account, 2s., and 2s. as a gratuity. Total 16s.

Expenses of the Steward. For the expenses of the steward in holding the courts of Coxhum and Ibstanc Monday and Tuesday next after the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, bread for the store-room, or ale 22d., for meat, 5d.

Total 2s. 3d.

Expenses of the Keeper. For the expenses of the keeper on his coming from London on the morrow of St. Frideswide's, bread from the store-room. For ale, 4d., for one sheep given to the servants, 3d., and to the bailiff of the king, 12d., and to the hayward of Pyrtone, at the order of the keeper, 12d. For the expenses of the same near Hokeday, staying 5 days, bread from the store-room; for ale, 2s. 11d., for meat 11s. 5d.: besides bacon from the store-room, for pens 7d., for bridles, 5d.; given to the bailiff of the king, 6d., and to the servants 4d., and to a man coming from Scotland to the lord king, 6d. Total 10s. 2d.

Outside Expenses. For the expenses of the bailiffs of Haldon, Ledrede, and Farley, in coming to the account and in returning; bread and cheese from the store-room, for ale 12d. For the expenses of the carter of Chetindone coming from Oxford and of the carters of Haliwell on their coming to Bredefeld to get timber there, bread and cheese from the store-room; for ale 8d. For the expenses of the same and of the carter of Cuxham on the way to Bredefeld four times and on the way to Alremanson twice, with the expenses of one man going with him twice, 5s. 6d.

For 6 clouts with nails bought for the cart from Chetindone, 9d. For hay bought on the way for the horses, 12d. For the expenses of the tax collectors of the sixteenth penny, bread and cheese from the store-room, for ale 7 1/2d.; given tothe same 6s. 8d. Given to the lord king for the sixteenth penny 28s. For poles bought as prys for preparing timber 3d.: for one man and his helper hired for 3 days at preparing timber 18d.: for one woman helping them for 2 days, 2d. For the expenses of 2 men coming to Haldon to hunt for a pig there, bread and cheese from the store-room, ale, 2d. For eggs, 1d. For the expenses of the 2 men driving a pig to Chetindone, 6d.

For the expenses of lord Stephen of Chenidant, Friday next before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, bread and cheese from the store-room,ale 2d. For the expenses of 4 masters coming to Reading for orders and returning about the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, bread 5d., beside bread from the store-room, ale 13d., garlic, 1d., cheese from the store-room. For shoeing 3 horses of the cart of Chetindone and for mending the broken strakes and hooks of the cart, 15d. For the expenses of master Adam of of Hystede coming from London on the morrow of St. Agatha the Virgin, bread from the store-room, ale 4d. For the expenses of a man of the king and his servant coming from Oxford to mark the door of the barn, Thursday next after the conversion of St. Paul; and the same servant remained for 2 days; and of another servant who came to him and remained 2 days, bread and cheese from the store-room, ale 8d., meat 3d., eggs 1d. Also given to the said men of the lord king, 2s. For hauling 4 casks and 1 pipe from London to Henley 6s. 9d., at 18d a cask and 9d for the pipe. For a house hired for storing the said casks at Henley, 6d.: for rolling the said casks into the house and out of the house again when they had to be put into the cart, 7d.; for placing the same in the car, 9d., for hauling the same from Henley to Cuxham, 18d. For expenses at Cuxham. For 2 men coming from Oxford to get one cask, bread and cheese from the store-room, ale 2d., garlic 2d. For the expenses of the bailiff of Ledrede going to Oxford and returning, about the feast of St. Osyth the virgin, bread from the store-room, ale 2 1/2d., eggs, 1d., cheese from the store-room, for 164 eggs bought for the account, 12d. Total 65s. 1d.

Total of all expenses 22L. 7s. 9 1/2d.

And he owes 26L. 9s. 7 1/2d.

Med-I (C)

# EXPENSE ACCOUNT

## Part II

On the basis of the information regarding the economic and social systems of this manor extracted from the expense account document, speculate regarding the exact origins of the document. If the manor in question is typical of its time and place, approximately where is the society in which it is located? What is the period in question? Why? Write a brief, documented essay (approximately two pages maximum) in which you identify the society! You have two days to complete this assignment. You may find it helpful to complete a descriptive "universal categories of culture" chart based on the expense account for your own use before attempting to specifically locate the society through secondary source readings. Works by the authors Sidney Painter and H. S. Bennett may be of use in directing your initial research.

# LIFE ON THE ENGLISH MANOR

H. S. Bennett's Life on the English Manor presents a hypothetical account of a day in the lives of villagers on the manorial estate of Belcombe in 1320. It is very similar in format to the Powers' article on Bodo, the Peasant, and provides an excellent opportunity to compare and contrast French manorial society of the 9th Century with English manorial life of the 14th Century. The student should find the manorial paradigm developed earlier useful in completing this reading. In this more fully documented article, one can study more specifically the functional aspects of each of the separate categories of culture.

The student is first asked to complete a universal categories of culture chart (noting confirmation of his impresssions of economic life gleaned from the Expense Account document in the previous problem). In addition, he is given a list of the functions of certain institutions that occur in some societies--unidentified as to which of the universal categories they most appropriately belong. It will be noted (see Student Instructions) that this further explanation simply defines the functional roles of various categories more explicitly than was done in questions and student speculations accompanying the Bodo reading. With this in hand, to serve as a guide, the student is asked to choose one institution listed in his descriptive chart for each of the universal categories and to explain to which functional definition that institution is most closely related. He is then asked to categorize the functional definitions presented by the teacher in terms of the universal categories of culture. This serves to point out the universal applicability of the functional definitions. Subsequent exercises will attempt to utilize the functional definitions to a greater extent and should make more explicable--and dramatic--the overlapping societal functions exercised by the feudal system and the Church in the Medieval Period--an issue on which the unit will subsequently focus.

Med-I (D)

# LIFE ON THE ENGLISH MANOR

The following reading presents a portrait of English manorial life in the early 14th Century. Read it carefully, keeping in mind aspects which compare and contrast with French manorial life 500 years earlier as described in the article on Bodo the Peasant.

## Part I:

Complete the following chart with words and short phrases identifying institutions of English manorial society described in the article. Be as thorough as possible.

### ENGLISH MANORIAL SOCIETY

| | |
|---|---|
| ECONOMICS | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |
| POLITICAL ORGANIZATION | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |
| SOCIAL ORGANIZATION | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |
| KNOWLEDGE | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |
| RELIGION | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |
| ARTS | VALUES:<br>INSTITUTIONS: |

Part II:

The following list represents general statements of important functions that one or many institutions perform in societies. Use them for the tasks that follow:

LIST OF FUNCTIONS

1. Acts as a mechanism of social control.
2. Defines, interprets, and implements societal norms; by doing this, aids the mutual adjustment of parts of society into an integrated whole.
3. Facilitates the effective attainment of society's goals.
4. Provides disposable facilities to meet society's needs and goals.
5. Maintains stability of institutions.
6. Aids internalization of society's values (socialization).
7. Reinforces commitment to society's values when individual deviance threatens.

A. On the following chart, do the following tasks in the order given:

1. Under column B, list one institution for each category of culture. The institutions should be taken from among those you listed on the chart in Part I dealing with the English manor. Remember--list only one of the many you have included for each category.
2. Under column C, write those functions from the above list which you think apply to each of the institutions you have listed under column B. Each of the institutions you work with can have one or many functions in the society of the of the 14th Century English manor. Do you find that most of the institutions you listed have one or more than one function?

## PART II-A

| | Column B | Column C |
|---|---|---|
| Category of Culture | Institutions | Functions |
| Economics | | |
| Political Organization | | |
| Social Organization | | |
| Knowledge | | |
| Religion | | |
| Arts | | |

Part II:

B. Complete the following chart, and then answer the questions which follow:

1. On the chart below, list the function (or functions) which are appropriate, in general, to each of the categories of culture.

| Categories of Culture | Function(s) |
|---|---|
| Economics | |
| Political Organization | |
| Social Organization | |
| Knowledge | |
| Religion | |
| Arts | |

2. Examine the chart you have just completed very carefully, and then answer the following questions:

   a. To what extent are individual functions associated with more than one category of culture? What does this suggest to you about the relationship between the different categories of culture?

   b. Though you may find many functions associated with each category of culture, what do you think is the one main function which should be associated with each of the categories?

3. Some sociologists have suggested that the following four terms represent functions that must be carried out if any society is to continue to exist. Using common connotations, unabridged dictionaries, and/or social science textbooks, try to broadly define each of the terms. Do any of these functions seem particularly the domain of any one of the universal categories? Can you relate them in any way to the categories?

    adaptation
    goal-attainment
    integration
    pattern maintenance

This assignment is due the day after tomorrow at the beginning of the period. You may use class time tomorrow to work on it individually or with other members of the class.

# DOCUMENT #3
# MANOR COURT ROLLS

The document which follows presents excerpts from manor court proceedings for the Priory of Durham around 1345-1383. The lord responsible for the holding of court controls each of the separate manors enumerated in the document (Spen, Billingham, North Pittington, etc.). The steward of the lord was responsible for this compilation of legal proceedings on each of the manorial estates. Theoretically, he was to call court sessions in each manor every three weeks. Technically, the term "hallmote" court implied (according to later 16th Century legal definition) that these court records deal with the lord's unfree tenants only. Information in the document itself, however, would tend to suggest that issues pertaining to various "social classes" are discussed in these hallmote rolls.

The document provides excellent opportunity for discussion and study of the function of a legal system in society; the great control exercised by the lord of the manor over the lives of his vassals; the interrelationship between economics, social organization, and political organization on the medieval manor, as well as of institutional means of social control (the family, the court) on the manor. The particularism (localism) of medieval justice is also made clear in the document.

The document should be handed to students unidentified as to its exact genre. (Because it deals with all-encompassing matters, many will initially think it too general to be a court document per se.) The chart that follows could be completed by students and then used as a study guide to answer subsequent questions. The chart provides an organizational framework through which to study the document, and it can be used to raise such questions as "What class structure, if any, seems to exist in this society?," "Which kind of issues appear most heavily regulated by the lord imposing fines and rendering decrees in this document?," "Comparing relative fines for various offenses, what can be seen about the "value system" of this society?," Is there uniformity in the administration of justice on the various manors owned by this lord?," etc.

Students are to carefully read through the document categorizing fines and misdemeanors in the appropriate columns. It will be noted that the legal transactions enumerated in the document are of varying sorts. The majority deal with business arising from the economic administration of the manor (regulation and enforcement of labor services, transfer of land held in villenage, punishment of trespass); others focus on minor offenses against law and order (violence, attacks on manorial offices, threats and assaults on neighbors, brawling, etc.); pleas which are matters touching the "king's peace" are also confronted. Although these are handled by the lord as part of his seignorial jurisdiction, some wrongdoings, such as brewing against the assize (measurement standards) of ale, the use of false weights and measures, etc., theoretically are punishable by the king himself.

It is to be noted, as well, that often the court appeared powerless to enforce its own orders. This is manifest in the "decree-like" nature of many of the document's entries; a number of admonitions are repeated at subsequent meetings of the manor's court.

When students have completed the chart, each is to write a short essay answering the questions listed in the problem statement. These essays can then form the basis for class discussions of the issues discussed above. The attached glossary should be valuable in these tasks.

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | INSTITUTIONS | | | | VALUES | | | |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Spen | | transference of prop. | | | | | | |
| Billingham | 6d<br>½ mark<br>20s<br>6d<br>4d | transference of prop.<br>use of pasture<br>grinding grain outside manor.<br>tenants must gather peas<br>only 1 horse in grain | | | | | | |
| Nopittington | 12s 4d | passing land down without right | | | | | | |
| Westraynton | | nativus status | ½ mark | beating a widow | | | | |
| Coupon | 12d<br>2s | breaking assize of ale<br>bad ale | | | | | | |
| Newton Bawley | | | | | 6d | leyr | 13d<br>40d | slander<br>attempted murder |

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | INSTITUTIONS | | | | VALUES | | | |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Fery | | | | | | | 40d | slander of common shepherd |
| West Merrington | | must plow fields | | | | | | |
| Mid Merrington | 40d | must recall son from school<br>must work with farmer of manor for suitable wages | | | | | | do not slander pounder |
| Ackley | ½ mark<br>3s | keep animals out of grain<br>must recall son from school<br>transference of prop. | | | | | | |
| Wallsend | | "making the hay" required<br>tenants must come to discuss common business | | | | tenants must come to meeting to discuss common business. | | |
| Hesylden | 15s | heriot | | | | carry all goods openly throughout vill | | women should restrain tongues. |

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | INSTITUTIONS | | | | VALUES | | | |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Monkton | 40s | nativus status<br>rebuilt burned barn | | | | | | |
| Heworths | | common forge and oven must be repaired | | | | | | |
| East Raynton | | demesne land transferred | | | 2s | merchet | | |
| Harrton | | nativus status | | | | | | |
| Southwyk | | transference of prop. | | | | | | |
| East Merrington | 4d | free status granted shepherd duty required | | | | | | |

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) INSTITUTIONS | | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) VALUES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Dalton | 6d | breaking assize of ale | | | 12d<br>12d | merchet<br>leyr (two men) | | |
| Molveston | | foreclosed mortgage returned | | | | | | |
| Pittington | 12d | tenants must "heat oven" when turn comes | | | | | | |

## DOCUMENT #3

Document No. 3 is an excerpt from a primary source record dealing with a number of manors owned by one medieval lord. As you read it, complete the attached chart which specifies the name of the particular manor in question. Try to indicate whether each issue described in the paragraph deals with the society's social system (economics, political organization, social organization) or with the society's cultural system (religion, arts, knowledge). In addition, note whether the issue in question pertains to the relationship between the peasant and his lord or between two persons of similar social status (i.e., peasant-peasant). Note the fines imposed for specific misdemeanors where these are provided.

When you have completed the chart, write a short essay in which you attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What kind of proceeding does this document cover? What is your evidence?
2. Is there a social class division in the society from which this document comes?
3. What type of issue seems to be most heavily controlled by the lord of this manor (i.e. issues that deal with the institutions or the values)?
4. Which crimes or misdemeanors are considered most serious in this society? What does this tell us about a society's value system?
5. Is there uniformity in the administration of justice on all the manors of this lord? (hint: compare relative fines for similar offenses)
6. What institution or institutions serve to control, prevent, or punish wrong-doing in this society?

## DOCUMENT #3

First Tourn of the Halmotes of the Priory of Durham, beginning at Fery, July 6th, A.D. 1345, before lords William of Chareton and Robert of Benson, Terrar and Bursar, and Simon Esshe, Steward.

Spen, 1345. Agnes widow of Adam of Mora has taken a house and 50 acres of land which her husband Adam formerly held, paying annually for her life 33s. 4d. And there is remitted to her 16s. 8d a year from the old rent on account of her age and weakness of mind.

Billingham, 1345. Agnes daughter of William Nouthird has taken a cottage with the curtilage, which the said William her father formerly held, to be held on payment of 6d. a year and 20 autumn works in the manor of Billingham, provided she has food. Fine, 2s.; pledges J. of Stokton and Alexander son of Gilbert.

The reeve and jurors complain and present that certain persons named below do not hold land by reason of which they have any right to have part in the common pasture, and yet they feed their cattle on the pasture of the vill to the injury of those who hold land. It is therefore required that they remove their animals from the pasture so that for the future they shall not thus overstock the pasture; under penalty of half a mark.

North Pittington, 1358. Bonageus (in 1364, Bonageus, a Florentine, was moneyer for the king of Scotland. This was probably the same man. He might have been in 1358 minter for the Bishop of Durham. By 1364 he is recorded as having left his holdings at Pittington.) Moneyer came here into court and took a messuage and 28 acres of land which had been Christiana Ponchoun's because no one of the blood of the said Christiana was willing to fine for them, to have and hold for the term of his life, on payment for the first 3 years of 13s. 4d. a year, and afterward 20s. a year. And the same Bonageus will repair within a year, at his own cost, the building of the foresaid messuage. And he gives for a fine 30s. of which 13s. 4d.is remitted for the repairs of the foresaid buildings. Pledges for the rent and for all other things which are required Robert Thomson and John Ponchoun.

Bonageus Moneyer came here and took a massuage and 20 acres of land formerly in the tenure of Richard of Aucland vicar of Pittington, which were seized into the hand of the lord because he left them and rented them without license of the lord; to have and hold for the term of his life, paying the ancient rent and doing for the lord and his neighbors what is required; on the pledge of John Ponchoun and Robert Thomson. And he gives as fine 13s. 4d.

West Raynton, 1364. It is reported by the inquisition upon which Hugh Rukyll has placed himself, viz. on the oath of, etc. (8 names) that the said Hugh is a nativus (that is, a bondman of the lord born on the manor. The word is used not in contrast with villanus, but as a more exact term, laying stress on his servile status, at a period when many men in the social position of villeins were no longer personally unfree. It is here evidently a term of approbrium, as well as an indication of subjection to the burdens of serfdom. The official who holds the court seems to deprecate any rousing of the resentment of the villein tenants by its open use.) of the lord prior and that his father and grandfather were considered as nativi of the said lord prior. And moreover this same Hugh made his fealty here in court just as pertains to a nativus. It is reported by the same inquisition that John Wydowson is a nativus of the lord and of like conditions etc.; and besides this, etc. has made his fealty etc. It is ordained and enjoined on all who were on the foresaid inquisition that each of them hold what was said among them as a secret, under penalty of payment of 40d. by the one who is found guilty. It is enjoined on all the tenants of that vill and the vill of East Raynton that no one of them call anyone of those vills "nativus"of the lord, under penalt/ of payment of 20s by the one who is found guilty

Billingham, 1364. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that none of them grind his grain outside of the domain so long as the mill of the lord prior is able to grind, under penalty of 20s.

Coupon, 1365. It is reported by the jury that Thomas son of Richard of Billingham staying at Melsonby and acting as common herdman there is a nativus of the lord.

Newton Bewley, 1965. From John of Baumburg for his transgression against Adam of Marton, in calling him false, perjured, and a rustic; to the loss of the same Adam of Marton 40d. penalty 13d.

Mid-Merrington, 1365. From Richard, son of Thomas, because he has not recalled his son from school. (Doubtless a villein who was violating the law by endeavoring to have his son trained to be a priest; see at Ackley, below.) before the feast of St. Michael as enjoined upon him at the last Halmote, penalty 40d. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that none of them insult the pounder while fulfilling his duty, nor swear at him.

West Raynton, 1365. A day is given to all the tenants of the vill to make a law that neither they nor their wives nor their servants shall cut down anything within the woods, nor carry anything green away from the woods; each of them at the next court six-handed.

Coupon, 1365. From Agnes Postell and Alice of Belasis, for breaking the assize of ale, 12d. From Alice of Belasis, for bad ale, and moreover because the ale which she sent to the Terrar was of no strength, as was proved in court, 2s.

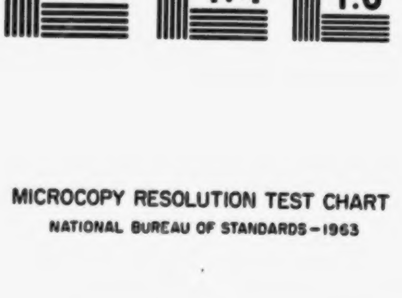
Ackley, 1365. It is ordained by common consent that no one permit colts, calves, young steers or any other animals within the field in which grain is sowed until the grain is cut and carried off, under penalty of half a mark.

Fery, 1365. It is ordained by common consent that Robert Todd should keep his sheep from feeding on the grain of his neighbors and on the cow-pasture, under penalty of 40d.; and moreover that each tenant keep his pigs, cows, horses, and other animals from feeding on the grain or treading it, and that the cottagers should keep their cattle within the common pasture, under the penalty foresaid.

Ackley, 1366. It is required of John, son of Thomas of Chilton, living at Coites that he recall his son from the schools before the feast of the Purification of the Virgin next.

# 2 OF 2

# ED 013993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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963

West Merrington, 1367. It is enjoined on all the tenants of the vill that each of them cause to be plowed the outer parts of the field and then the inner parts, so that none of them. . . . (Manuscript illegible) loss on account of lack of plowing.

Billingham, 1368. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that none of them cut the balks before the next court.

Coupon 1368. John Pulter and Robert Fauks were elected ale-tasters, and were sworn.

Newton Bewley, 1368. From Alice, servant of Adam of Marton, for leyr, (leyr was a fine imposed upon women who had been guilty of incontinence) 6d. From Thomas, servant of the same for drawing his knife to strke John Smith, penalty 40d., by grace 12d.

Wallsend, 1368. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that each of them come on the summons of the reeve to discuss the common business touching the profit of the vill.

Hesylden, 1368. From Robert, son and heir of John son of Matilda, as a heriot for 1 massuage and 20 acres of land which he holds freely, for homage, and fealty and service of 40d. and a heriot, viz. the best beast; 15s., and nothing for relief.

Monkton, 1369. Robert Jakson, nativus of the lord made his fealty to the lord of Jarrow, Thursday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the 69th year.

Heworths, 1370. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that they have the common forge and the common oven repaired.

East Raynton, 1370. From Margaret daughter of Robert Wright for merchet, pledge, Alice, her mother, 2s.

Fery, 1370. From Margaret Ferywoman for leyr, 6d. From Adam Graundorge for his transgression made against Robert Letany by killing his cow to the loss of 7s. 3d. A day is given to the same Adams to make his law against Richard, son of Peter, that he has not broken the leg of his cow. At the next court, with six hands. He has not found a pledge. Therefore let the said Richard recover against him. From Adam Graundorge for 1 cow of Richard, son of Peter, killed to the loss of 10s., penalty 3d.

Wallsend, 1370. It is ordained by common consent that each tenant should come to the making of the hay of the common meadow when they shall be warned, under penalty of losing their part and even under penalty of heavy fine.

Harton, 1370. An inquisition was taken here Tuesday, the day after St. Simon's and St Jude's Day, A.D. 1370, before lord John of Heminburg, Terrar, and lord Thomas Surtays, Steward, for inquiring of what condition Adam Diotson and Roger Mard are, on the oath of John Wallas, 80 years old, Thomas Page, Richard of Hertlaw, John Dodgeson, John Gray; John, son of Adam of Southwyk, John Ward, grandfather of the aforesaid Roger Ward, and John Ward, father of the same Roger, were of old held to be nativi of the lord Prior, and never did they hear the contrary till this day. And they say that a certain Thomas Maymond, grandfather of the aforesaid Adam, and John, father of the aforesaid Roger were brothers by the same father and mother, and they say that the aforesaid Adam and Roger are of the same servile condition as their ancestors were and never did they hear the contrary.

East Raynton, 1370. Lease of the manor. John Freman, Robert of Coldingham, Elias Pater-Noster, and Thomas Gibson have taken the demesne lands with their buildings, to have and to hold for the term of 15 years, paying yearly at the treasury 8 marks, and to the Terrar half a mark, commencing payment at the feast of Pentecost, A.D. '71. And they found 54 acres of one cultivation; and they will manure 10 acres in each year. And they will return the buildings and land in proper condition because they so received them. Pledges, each of the other, and others of the vill who work part of it on lease from John Freman and his said companions. And they will grind the grain from the said demesnes at the mill of the Prior in the same way as it is ground from the lands of the other tenants.

Mid-Merrington, 1371. It is enjoined on all the cottars and laborers that they work with the farmer of the manor for suitable wages.

Newton-Bewly, 1371. William Raynald was elected to the office of reeve, and was sworn.

Billingham, 1374. Fealty of a nativus taken. Robert, sone of Eustace Fristerlying of Hesilden, nativus of the lord came here on Thursday, the feast of Pope Clement, A.D. '74, in the presence of lord John of Beryngton, Terrar, Alan of Billingham, John of Elvet, Hugh of Corbrigg, and several other tenants of Billingham, Wolveston, Newton, and Coupon, and swore, touching the sacred gospels, that he will be under the jurisdiction of the lord Prior and Convent of Durham and their officers, in his body and his goods, and that he will not remove himself from their land, etc.

Southwyk, 1374. From Robert Smith because he would not sit down at the command of the Steward. Robert Smith took one holding which was last in the tenure of William, son of Henry, to have and hold for the term of his life, paying yearly for all things, viz. for services and other different things, 30s.

East Merrington, 1367. It is reported by the oath of (fourteen names) in the presence of lord Robert of Wallworth, prior and many others that Robert, son of Nicolas, who now is called Tomson is free and of free condition and free status, and not a nativus of the said lord Prior.

Ackley, 1376. John Tailor has come and taken 12 acres of land with the meadow pertaining to the said 12 acres of land, lately in the tenure of William Ibbi and lessed by the said William to the said John with the license of the prior; to have and hold for the term of his life; paying annually 12s. Fine 3s.

Hesilden, 1376. It is ordained by common consent that all things collected within the field, as well as herbage be carried openly through the middle of the vill and not behind the gardens, in secret. It is enjoined upon all of the women of the vill that they restrain their tongues and that they do not quarrel nor swear at anyone.

Dalton, 1376. From Joanna, wife of William Smith, for merchet 12d. From Margaret, servant of the former, for leyr with two men, 12d. From the wife of John Dawson, for breaking the assize of ale 6d.

Wolveston, 1376. William May, nativus of the lord has taken 30 acres of land with the crop; viz., 5 acres of wheat, price per acre 10s., 3 acres of peas and beans and 4 acres of oats, price per acre 5s. The same William held these before and on account of his incapacity they were seized into the hand of the lord; to have and to hold at the will of the lord, paying the ancient rent.

Billingham, 1378. It is ordained by common consent that at the blowing of the horn of the Reaper, they should come for the gathering of the peas, and when he blows his horn again they all withdraw from the said peas, under penalty of 6d.; and moreover that no one collect except in his own place, unless he is poor.

West Raynton, 1378. A day is given to that vill that they inquire and present whether John Hunting and Cecilia his wife beat Margaret the widow or not, at the next court, under penalty of half a mark. From John Hunting because he did not close his front, so that his animals trampled and destroyed the cabbages of Margaret the widow.

Billingham, 1379. It is ordained by common consent that no one in the time of harvest should have in the day time more than one horse in the grain, for carrying his food, and that at night he should remove the said horse from the grain, under penalty of 4d.; and similarly that no one carry off the grain of another, under the same penalty.

Monkton, 1379. It is enjoined upon Thomas Lame that he cause to be rebuilt before the feast of St. Michael a barn which was burned in his tenure, under penalty of 40s.

Pittyngton, 1379. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that they heat up the oven, each one of them when his turn shall come, under penalty of paying 12d.

East Morrington, 1381. It is ordained by common consent that each tenant should keep the animals when his turn comes, and for the day in which he has their custody, he should respond and give satisfaction for injuries made in the grain or herbage to the one or ones who have had the losses, under penalty of paying 4d.

Fery, 1383. It is enjoined upon all the tenants of the vill that they should have boundary marks, under penalty of half a mark, and moreover that they should pay the common shepherd his wages, and that they should not speak ill to the said shepherd, under penalty of 40d.

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | INSTITUTIONS | | | | VALUES | | | |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Spen | | | | | | | | |
| Billingham | | | | | | | | |
| Nopittington | | | | | | | | |
| Westraynton | | | | | | | | |
| Coupon | | | | | | | | |
| Newton Bawley | | | | | | | | |

| | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) | | | | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | INSTITUTIONS | | | | VALUES | | | |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Fery | | | | | | | | |
| West Merrington | | | | | | | | |
| Mid Merrington | | | | | | | | |
| Ackley | | | | | | | | |
| Wallsend | | | | | | | | |
| Hesylden | | | | | | | | |

|  | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) |  |  |  | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | INSTITUTIONS |  |  |  | VALUES |  |  |  |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Monkton |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Heworths |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East Raynton |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Harrton |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Southwyk |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East Merrington |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|  | SOCIAL SYSTEM (Economics, Political Organization, Social Organization) |  |  |  |  | CULTURAL SYSTEM (Religion, Art, Knowledge) |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | INSTITUTIONS |  |  |  |  | VALUES |  |  |
| Manor | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant | Fine | Peasant-Lord (Manor) | Fine | Peasant-Peasant |
| Dalton |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Molveston |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pittington |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Med-I (E)

## DOCUMENT #3

## GLOSSARY OF MEDIEVAL TERMS

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| ADVOWSON | The right of patronage or of presenting a clergyman to a living. |
| AID | A periodic payment made by a feudal vassal to his lord. |
| ALB | A full-length white linen vestment worn by the priest celebrating communion. |
| ALBIGENSIAN | See CATHARI. |
| ALIENATION | The transference of land from one holder to another. |
| ALMONER | Monastic official responsible for the collection and distribution of alms. |
| AMERCEMENT | A fine levied by a court. |
| ANATHEMA | A solemn ban issued by the church and accompanied by excommunication. |
| ASSIZE | 1. The right to enforce regulations governing the price, quality, etc. of goods (i.e., assize of bread and ale); statutory price.<br>2. An investigation by a sworn inquest of sessions of a court in England. |
| AUGER | A tool for boring holes in wood. |
| AVENTAIL | Mail armour hanging from the helmet to protect the throat and shoulders. |
| BALDRIC | Sword belt hung from the shoulder across the body. |
| BAN | The lord's power to rule and to punish as the king's representative in a given region; hence banal privileges of the lord (i.e., peasants must use his mill) and banalites (services the holder of ban may exact).<br>See COUTUMBS. |
| BANLIEU | An area around a city, town, or monastery, distinguished by and protected by certain privileges. |
| BANNERET | A knight commanding a group of men-at-arms in battle. |
| BARBETTE | Strip of linen worn under the chin by women in the later Middle Ages. |
| BASCINET | Cloche-shaped helmet made of PLATE (q.v.) Popular in the later 14th Century. |
| BEAVER | Piece of PLATE ARMOUR (q.v.) designed to protect the throat. |
| BEREWICK | Subsidiary or outlying estate. |
| BORDAR | A cottager and smallholder who owed services to his lord. |
| BOVATE | The eighth part of a CARUCATE (q.v.). Sometimes called an oxgang. |
| BULL | A papal letter sealed with a leaden seal (oulla). These letters are usually of greater importance than the general run of correspondence. |
| CALENDAR | A list of documents with summaries of their contents. Usually arranged in chronological order. |
| CANON | Literally, a rule. See CANON LAW. Canon may also refer to a group of clergy, often those attached to a Cathedral, who follow a rule of life (usually the Augustinian Rule). This group also acts as the electoral body for the selection of the bishop. |
| CANON LAW | The law of the church. |

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| CATHARI | A group of Provencal heretics who espoused a form of dualistic religion. A though Christ figured in their teachings, it is doubtful whether they could actually be called Christians. The heresy had its origins in the East and came to southern France from Bulgaria. Its relationship to the Manichean heresy is not clear. See MANICHEAN. |
| CARTULARY | A list of records of lands and privileges granted by charters. |
| CARUCATE | Another name for ploughland. Originally an area of arable land which a plough team could keep in cultivation, but by 1086 a unit of tax assessment rather than of land measurement. |
| CELIBACY | The unmarried state. Celibacy of the clergy was advocated very early in the history of the Christian church, especially in the West, but gained full acceptance only gradually. |
| CELLARER | Monastic official or OBEDIENTIARY (q.v.) responsible for food supplies and outside trading. |
| CHAIN MAIL | Armour made from numbecus small links of metal, each forged separately and then riveted together. |
| CHAMBER | A household organization created by Edward II, after his barons had compelled him to abandon the independent WARDROBE administration. |
| CHANCELLOR | The head of the CHANCERY. Eventually the king's chief minister. |
| CHANCERY | The royal secretariat |
| CHAPTER | The chapter of a religious house consisted of all the full members. The part of the Rule read daily in the chapter house was also called the chapter. |
| CHASEMENT | Fief. |
| CHASUBLE | Short, outer vestment worn by a priest celebrating communion. |
| CHATELAIN | Governor or owner of a castle and region(chatollenis) around it. Distinct from the manor court (seigneur) who owns a fief or estate (seigneurie) |
| CLERK | A word of several meanings in the Middle Ages: any clergyman; a man in minor orders; one in charge of accounts of records; a scholar |
| COIF | Close-fitting helmet made of CHAIN MAIL. |
| COMMISSION OF ARRAY | Instruction addressed by the king to a group of local gentlemen to call out the SHIRE LEVY. |
| CONCLAVE | The meeting at which the cardinals (after 1059) choose a new pope. |
| CORVEE | The unpaid forced labor services required by a lord of his subordinates. |
| COUNCIL | A meeting of the bishops and prelates of the church to decide questions of faith and morals. A general or ecumenical council was usually summoned by the pope and presided over by his representatives. See SYNOD. |
| COURT LEET | A local court authorized by royal grant to hear cases of petty jurisdiction. Courts leet were often responsible for the view of FRANKPLEDGE. |

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| COURT ROLL | The record of a court'sactivities, so called because the parchment on which the record was written was filed as a role. |
| COUTUMES | Taxes and services due to a lord having the ban. |
| COUTURE | Part of the finage. The large area of arable land which only the lord can farm. See DEMESNE. |
| CURIA | The Roman, or papal, curia is composed of the heads--usually cardinals--of the various administrative offices of the church. |
| CURTILAGE | Area attached to dwelling house; a vegetable garden. |
| DARREIN PRESENTMENT | Judicial cases concerned with ADVOWSON. |
| DECRETAL | A papal letter answering a question of Canon Law. Decatals is the name given to the collection of these letters. |
| DEMESNE | Part of the manor land which the lord farmed directly. The "home-farm." |
| ECOLATRE | Director of a cathedral school. |
| ENCYCLICAL | A papal letter addressed to many bishops, princes, and lay people. |
| ESCHEATOR | The royal officer responsible for holding INQUISITIONS *post mortem*. |
| ESQUIRE or SQUIRE | A knight's "apprentice." |
| ESSOIN | An excuse for non-attendance at a court. |
| EXCHEQUER | The royal counting-house. |
| EXCOMMUNICATION | An ecclesiastical censure "cutting off" the person punished from communion with the faithful. There are various kinds of degrees of excommunication. |
| EXTENT | A detailed valuation of land and property. |
| FAIR | Market held on fixed days, authorized by ruler of the territory. |
| FARM | The rent or service paid for landholding. |
| FEE SIMPLE | Land held in fee simple was held without restriction on inheritance. |
| FEODARY | One who holds lands on condition of homage and service to the overlord. Also an officer concerned with inheritance of land. |
| FEUDAL HOST | The army which assembled when the king required his tenants in chief to support him in war. |
| FEUDALISM | Social organization based on holding land in feud or fief; i.e., from a superior on specified terms of service. |
| FINAGE | The lands cultivated by a village. |
| FINAL CONCORD | A legal agreement or settlement. |
| FINE | Two meanings--a fee or an end (*finis*); often applied to a final agreement or decision concerning handholding. Such fines were written in triplicate. Copies went to the disputants, and the third copies, fact of fines, were filed in the records of the court of common pleas. |
| FINE ROLLS | Records of payments made for writs issued by the crown. |
| FOREST | Area reserved for game and hunting. Special laws, forest laws, governed these areas, which were far from being all woodlands. |
| FORESTER | Officer in charge of the king's (or his lord's) forest lands and game. |

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| FRANCHISE | Rights of jurisdiction and exemptions of various sorts enjoyed by feudal lords. See LIBERTY. |
| FRANKPLEDGE | The system by which the householders of a manor or village were grouped into TITHINGS in order that each tithing could be held corporately responsible for the good behavior of its members. Cases of lawbreaking were heard twice a year at a view of frankpledge. |
| GELD | A tax. Particularly associated with English and Norman taxes of the 10th and 11th Centuries. |
| GILD | A corporation of merchants or craftsmen inside a borough. |
| GLOSS | A marginal note or explanation. Glosses were the usual way in which commentators on canon law offered explanations of difficult points. Hence, the name Glossator, referring to a commentator on the canon law. |
| GOTHIC | The art and architectural style of the later Middle Ages. |
| GRAND ASSIZE | A group of neighbors sworn to give evidence and judgment concerning disputed land-holding. In Henry II's reign this was an alternative method of settlement to ORDEAL by combat. |
| GREAT SCHISM | Division in the papacy, which began in 1378 and ended with the election of Martin V as pope in 1417. |
| GREAVES | PLATE ARMOUR designed to protect the legs below the knee. |
| HAYWARD | Manor or parish officer responsible for fences and enclosures. |
| HAUBERK | A long cape made of iron links or rings; covered the body from head to knees. |
| HERIOT | Payment of the best animal to be made to the lord on taking possession of a holding acquired by inheritance. |
| HIDE | An area of land, which differed considerably in size in different counties. By 1086 it had become a tax assessment unit rather than a measurement. |
| HOBELAR | A lightly armed horseman usually used for foraging and scouting. |
| HOBEREAU | Small county gentleman; provincial nobleman. |
| HOLDING LAND | Since all land belongs to the crown, no subject can own it. Tenants-in-chief held it directly from the crown; subtenants held from a superior lord. Teneo: I hold. |
| HOMAGE | Acknowledgment of allegiance to a superior. |
| HOMILETIC | Pertaining to a homily, or sermon. |
| HUMANIST | Student of the new learning; i.e., the classical literature of Greece and Rome) during the Renaissance. |
| HUNDRED | An administrative subdivision of a county. |
| INDENTURE | An agreement written two, three, or more times on a single parchment. To insure against forgery, the copies-one for each party to the agreement-were separated by irregular, wavy cuts. |
| INFANGENTHIEF | The right sought by borough and manor courts to apprehend and punish anyone caught thieving within the boundaries of their jurisdiction. |
| INFIRMARIAN | Monastic official responsible for the infirmary or sick quarters. |
| INQUISITION | An inquiry. Inquisition post mortem was an inquiry into the holdings, services, and succession of a deceased person who held land of the king. |

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| INTERDICT | An ecclesiastical censure which forbids the holding of any church services in a particular area. A form of compulsion used by the church to enlist popular opinion against the persons censured. |
| INVESTITURE | Putting a priest or deacon in possession of a benefice. The Investiture Dispute in the 11th and 12th Centuries concerned the right of lay rulers to receive homage from ecclesiastics. |
| ITINERANT JUSTICE | A royal judge who moved from center to center hearing pleas of the crown. |
| JOUST | A duelling match between two armed horsemen. |
| JUPON | Tight-fitting garment worn over armour, chiefly in the later 14th Century. |
| JUSTICE IN EYRE | A judge commissioned by the crown to undertake a journey, or eyre, in order to hear all pleas at certain county centers. |
| JUSTICIAR | The king's chief minister during the late 12th and early 13th Centuries. |
| KNIGHT'S FEE | Originally a grant of land in exchange for undertaking to supply a lord with the services of a fully armed knight and his necessary servants for forty days each year. Eventually, payment was made by rent, and knight's fees were often divided among several tenants. |
| LAND MEASURES --ENGLISH | Mide: Usually about 120 acres; as much as would support one family and dependents.<br>Virgate: Varying greatly, from twenty or forty acres.<br>Rood: Forty square rods.<br>Perch: One square rod. |
| LARGESSE | Liberality; a propensity toward wastefulness; one of the differences between knights and peasants. |
| LASTAGE | Charges for lading; i.e., putting goods on board ship. |
| LETTERS CLOSE | Private letter or letters. |
| LETTERS PARENT | Open letter or letters. |
| LYBERATE ROLLS | Records of writs which authorized the spending of the king's money. |
| LIBERTY | An area in which a feudal noble possessed certain governmental rights, determined by royal charter or by custom. |
| LICENSE | Delegation of the power to instruct (teach). |
| LIMITER | A begging friar. |
| LIVRES | Pounds; always identified with a particular place; i.e., the pound of Genoa). Until after 1250 the pound was only a unit of accounting, not an actual coin. |
| MANICHEAN | A heresy compounded of Persian dualism (Zoroastrianism) and Christianity which flourished in the 4th Century A.D. St. Augustine of Hippo espoused the heresy during his youth but later opposed it vigorously. The Manicheans were specially strong in North Africa and the Near East. |
| MANOR | A feudal freehold estate. Manors varied considerably in size, but usually the lord of the manor or his deputy, presided over a manor court, which administered the manor lands and controlled the manor tenants. Since manors were held in FEE SIMPLE, they passed automatically from the lord to his heir. |

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| MERCET (Merchet) | Fine paid by a tenant or bondsman to his overlord for liberty to give his daughter in marriage. |
| MERCY | To be in mercy was to be liable to punishment for an offence. |
| MESSUAGE | Dwelling house with outbuildings and lands assigned to its use; small enclosure or storage place. |
| METAYER | Small farmer or sharecropper who received his supplies and equipment from a landowner and worked a land (metairie) for which he paid rent in kind (metayage or mezzadria system). |
| METES | Boundaries. |
| MISERICORDE | Short dagger. |
| MOIETY | One of two parts into which an estate was divided; not necessarily a half. |
| MORT D"ANCESTOR | Judicial cases concerned with claims of inheritance. |
| MOTA | Moot hall. |
| MOTTE AND BAILEY CASTEL | A Norman castle, built of wood on an artificial mound of earth, (the motte) and adjoining a stockaded living area (the bailey). |
| NOVEL DISSEISIN | Judicial cases concerned with dispossession of land. |
| NOVICE | A probationary member of a monastic community. |
| OBEDIENTIARY | A monk in charge of an administrative department inside a monastery. |
| ORDEAL | A means of submitting a case to "divine judgment." The English and the Normans both used the ordeals of fire and water. The Normans added ordeal by combat for knights. |
| OYER ET TERMINER | To hear and give judgment. A court of oyer et terminer was one of final judgment usually held by one of the king's judges. |
| PALLIUM | A strip of white woolen cloth worn by an archbishop across the shoulders as a symbol of rank. |
| PANNAGE | The right to feed pigs in the woods. Also the payment made to hold that right. |
| PASSAGE | Tolls on passengers or goods. |
| PATRIMONY | This term usually refers to the Patrimony of St. Peter, i.e., the papal states. |
| PINDER | The villager responsible for putting stray animals in the pinfold, or pound. |
| PIPE OF WINE | Large cask of wine. |
| PIPE ROLL | Record of payments made to the EXCHEQUER. |
| PITTANGER | Monastic official responsible for supplying pittances, the extra food given to the community on feast days. |
| PLATE ARMOUR | Armour made from sheet metal. In the later 13th Century pieces of plate were used to protect shoulders, elbows, and knees. By the 15th Century complete suits of articulated plate armour had become common. |
| PLEA | Action at law. Pleas of the crown were cases reserved for the king's justices. The court of common pleas heard civil actions only. |
| PLOUGHLAND | See CARUCATE. |

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| POKE | A half-filled sack of wool. |
| PONTAGE | Bridge tolls. |
| PORT | Area reserved for the meeting of merchants. |
| POTTLE | Half a gallon. |
| PRECENTOR | The priest responsible for conducting choir services in a cathedral or monastery. |
| PRIMACY | The claim of the pope to be supreme bishop, based in part on New Testament references and in part on the historical development of the church. |
| PROTONOTARY | Chief clerk in certain courts of law. |
| PURPRESTURE | An encroachment, especially on to deer pastures in the forest. |
| QUADRIVIUM | The four more advanced subjects taught in medieval schools--arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. |
| QUIT RENT | Money payment made by a small landholder in place of traditional services. |
| RECUSANCY | The legal offence of refusing to attend the established church. Rocuso: I refuse |
| REEVE | A deputy. The shire reeve (sheriff) was the king's deputy in the county: the manor reeve, the lord's deputy in the manor court. |
| REFECTORIAN | Monastic official in charge of the refectory of frater. |
| REGULAR CLERGY | Clergy living according to a religious rule. Monks and friars were regulars. |
| ROMANESQUE | The art and architectural style of the Norman and Angevin period. |
| SAC AND SOC or SAKE AND SOXE | The right to hold a court and require tenants to attend it. |
| SACRIST | The official responsible for the utensils used in divine service. |
| SARCENET | Fine silk material. |
| SARPLER | Sack of wool. |
| SCRIPTORIUM | The part of a monastery, often the north walk of the cloisters, set aside for study and writing. |
| SCUTAGE | A money payment made to the king instead of personal military service. Scutage became increasingly usual from the reign of Henry II onward. |
| SECULAR | Illiterate. |
| SECULAR CLERGY | Priests who live among laymen and act in a religious order. Bishops, parish priests, and curates all are seculars. |
| SEIGNIORIAL BOROUGH | A borough which received its charter from an earl, baron, or local landholder; i.e., not from the crown. |
| SEIZE | Possess. A freeholder was said to be seized of his land. To be disseized was to be dispossessed. |
| SENESCHAL | Steward. |
| SERF | An unfree servant. |
| SERGENT (SARGEANT) | Man who ranks below the knight. |
| SERJEANTRY | To hold land by serjeantry was to hold it in exchange for an agreed service other than military duties. |
| SHIRE LEVY | The defence force provided for by the assize of arms, 1181. In Anglo-Saxon times, the fyrd. |
| SIMONY | The buying and selling of ecclesiastical office. |
| SOCAGE | Tenure without servile obligation; the tenant usually paid a rent. |
| SOKEMAN or SOCMAN | A free tenant, who came under the lord's jurisdiction. |

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| SOU | Silver money, divided into 12 deniers. |
| SPIRITUALITIES | Tithes, gifts, and other ecclesiastical sources of income belonging to a bishop or religious house. |
| SUFFRAGAN | A bishop who is subordinate to an archiepiscopal sec. |
| SYNOD | An ecclesiastical council or assembly. |
| TAILLE | A direct tax levied by a lord on the wealth of his subjects or levied on the land held from him (tallage: a manorial tax) |
| TALE | Count or total. |
| TEMPORALITIES | Lands, buildings, and other secular sources of income belong to a bishop or religious house. |
| T.R.E. | *Tempore regis Edwardi*: in the days of King Edward. Used in Domesday Survey to mean the day of Edward the Confessor's death. |
| T.R.W. | In the days of King William. Used in Domesday Survey to mean the year 1086. |
| TENANT-IN-CHIEF | One who held land directly from the crown. |
| THEGN | An Anglo-Saxon retainer of noble birth. By 1086, however, many thegns owned little land and enjoyed few privileges. |
| TITHE | Payment to the church of a tenth of the produce of the land. In a parish the great tithes; i.e., tenths of the main products, went to the rector, and the small tithes to the vicar. |
| TITHING | A group of householders in the FRANKPLEDGE system. Originally a tithing had ten members, but eventually numbers varied considerably. |
| TOLL AND THEAM | Two rights granted in moat borough charters--to exact toll from strangers bringing goods to the market and to compell a receiver of stolen property to disclose how he got it. |
| TOURNEY | A jousting tournament. |
| TRIVIUM | The three basic subjects taught in medieval schools--grammar, thetoric, and logic. |
| USURY | In medieval usage, all forms of interest on loans for consumption were usurious. Both church and state tried to inforce strong penalties for violation. |
| VIEW OF ARMS | A six monthly inspection of the arms held by the SHIRE LEVIES. |
| VILL | A settlement; a hamlet. |
| VIL(L)AIN | Villa dweller (*villanus*); peasant; someone who lives in a village. |
| VILLEIN | An unfree peasant or villager who usually farmed strips in the common fields and, therefore, was better off than a serf. |
| VIRGATE | Quarter of a HIDE. Yardland is an alternative name. |
| WARD | The seasonal closing of pasture land. |
| WARDROBE | The more personal household administration developed by Henry III and Edward I to bypass heavy administrative machine of the CHANCERY and EXCHEQUER. Edward III used the wardrobe, by then a subsidiary of the exchequer, as his war treasury overseas. |
| WIMPLE | A woman's head-dress which also covered her cheeks, chin, and neck; fashionable in the 14th Century. |
| WITAN or WITENAGEMOT | The king's council in Anglo-Saxon England. The Norman kings transformed it into Great Council, assembly of feudal magnetes. |

# PART II

# FEUDALISM

## THESIS:

By the 11th and 12th Centuries feudalism was prevalent in Western and Eastern Europe and in most of Byzantium. The process of understanding the Middle Ages begins with an essential knowledge of feudalism as a political organization affecting the social structure.

## ORIGINS:

One finds aspects of feudalism appearing among the Gauls in the 7th and 8th Centuries, but its real growth took place in Northern France in the 9th and 10th Centuries. It spread to England where it was introduced by William the Conqueror. As English nobles advanced into Ireland and Scotland, it was subsequently introduced there as well. Feudalism was introduced in Sicily by the Crusaders and developed in Eastern Germany by Teutonic Knights who took it with them as they advanced into Eastern Europe. Generally, the feudalism which spread from France, with the exception of the type introduced in Germany, was of the Frankish type.

Feudalism in Northern France in the 9th and 10th Centuries was essentially a military and political rather than an economic system. As the feudal structure developed, there occurred complete fusion of public and private rights of the individual. For example, a political system must (1) furnish a defense for the people, (2) maintain internal law and order (police power), and (3) assume the financial responsibility for maintaining a standard of living. As feudalism developed, these three elements were not assumed by an organized formal governmental structure but rather were achieved via private agreements by citizens. Ancillary to this is the fact that the entire system of land holding was an essential part of the feudal bargain.

## DEFINITION:

Feudalism can be described as a system characterized by the fact that basic governmental functions are carried out by fighting land-holding aristocrats through private agreements.

## THE BARGAIN:

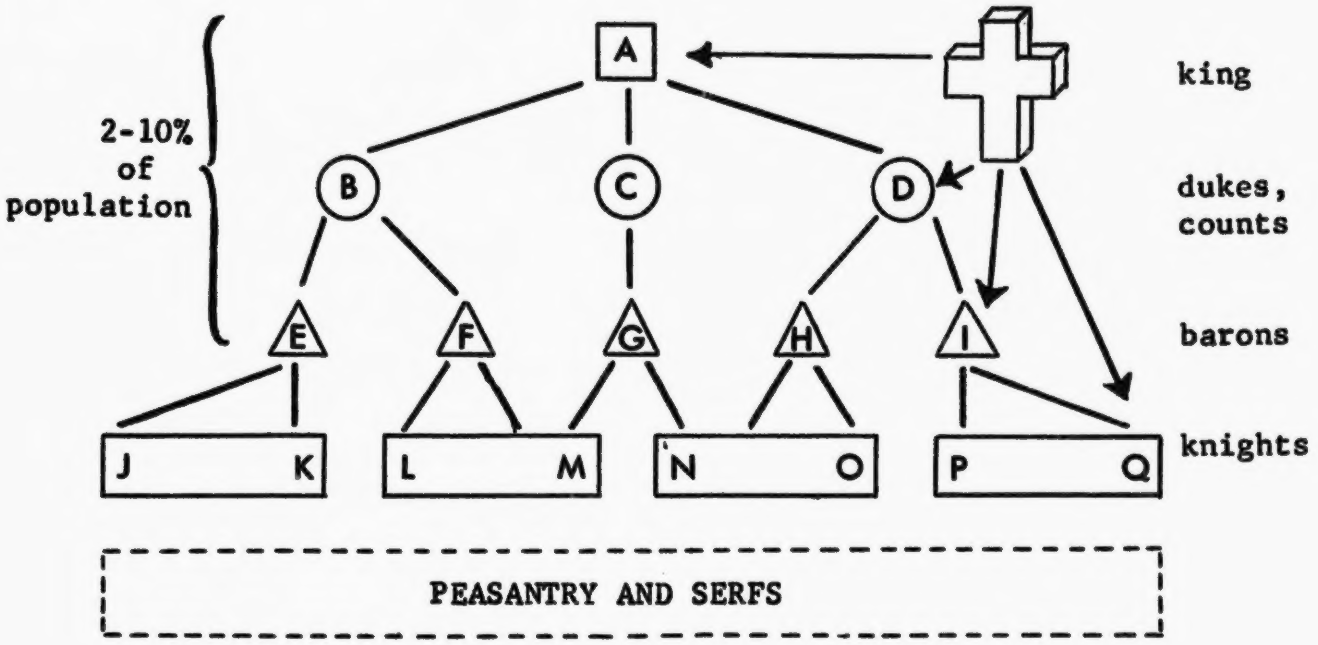
The basic personal feudal agreement was between the lord and vassal and was performed by a ceremonial act of homage. The vassal knelt before the lord and placed his hands in submission between those of the lord, thus becoming his leige, or "man." After paying homage, the vassal swore an oath of fealty, or fidelity, to the lord; in return the lord invested him with a piece of land called a fief (Latin, feudum, from which the word feudalism is derived), concluding the ceremony with the kissing of his vassal. The lord gave (1) land in the form of the fief, (2) a promise to protect the vassal on that land, (3) a promise not to interfere with the rights of the vassal's fief, and (4) a promise of protection and justice in his court. In essence, defense, law and order, and financial responsibility were to be provided for the vassal by the lord. In turn, the vassal gave: (1) military service for the lord (usually forty days' service and a day free), (2) court service when court was being held, (3) a promise to give financial aid in the form of various assistances, e.g. (a) up to three days' "hospitality" if the lord visited the fief, (b) relief (upon homage, the vassal gave the lord the equivalent of one year's income), and (c) aids in the form of ransom, knighting of his eldest son, or help toward the dowry of the eldest daughter of the lord.

In reality, the vassal's rights (such as a maximum of forty days' military service or three days' hospitality) were often abused by the lord. There were also special additional rights belonging to the lord:

1. If the vassal left no heirs, his fief could be confiscated by the lord, and the lord could then give the land to another vassal (escheating). This was practiced because the lord required the fighting power and other services provided by a vassal and because it was undesirable to have any of his lands remain unproductive.

2. If the vassal left a minor heir, the lord had the right of ward--he could take the revenue from the fief during the minority period. If the heir was a girl, in addition to wardship, he had the authority to marry her to anyone he so desired. Abuses involving wardship were usually justified by the lord's explanation that the responsibilities of the vassal had to be met.

HOW DID THE FEUDAL ORGANIZATION TAKE THE PLACE OF GOVERNMENT?



Theoretical Feudal Pyramid

In examining the feudal structure, one finds a feudal pyramid with the king as the lord of the realm owning part of the domain and parceling out the rest in the form of fiefs to dukes, counts, and other vassals. In turn, these recipients usually gave some of their land to vassals (i.e., barons) in order to secure homage. These barons then subdivided the domain by giving fiefs to vassals called knights, who were thus vassals of barons, dukes, counts, and the king. The knights were at the lowest level in the aristocratic social structure. However, this pyramid of power involved only 2 to 10 percent of the population. The vast majority of the populace were the serfs or peasants living on the manor.

## THE REALITIES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM:

In theory, this highly organized structure with its built-in chain of command should have worked well. But there were many problems in the system. Confusion could arise in situations where:

1. A marriage occurred which might make someone a vassal of two men who were fighting each other.
2. A man became a vassal and a lord to the same man at the same time; e.g., Knight J (a vassal to Baron E) marries the daughter of Duke B, thus making Knight J a duke. He then would be the lord to this particular baron and also his vassal.
3. There were disagreements about the purchasing of land or dissension within the chain of command.
4. There were shortcomings of the system stemming from the involvement of the church. Archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other churchmen all had large land-holdings and their chief vassalage should have been to the Pope. However, a great number of them were vassals of the local lord and of the king. How could these men fulfill their feudal fighting responsibilities which were directly against the teachings of the Church? Some solved the dilemma by hiring knights to engage in combat for them.
5. Some men of lesser significance confused the situation by simply failing to honor their previous agreements.

As a general statement, it appears that the feudal structure was most successful when it involved a relatively small geographic area and when there were few vassals to control. It also seemed to work better in areas where the individual man could not defend himself against the lord who established control or could not call on others to aid in his defense. An example of where it worked was the Duchy of Normandy where the area was small enough for one man to supervise things himself and maintain efficient and firm control. Other examples of successful feudal implementation in the 10th and 11th Centuries were Flanders and Anjou.

## AN ATTEMPT AT DIRECTION BY THE CHURCH:

The church, weakened by the anarchy and disorder of early feudal society, made some important attempts to influence the development of the pattern. To begin with, attempts were made to remove the church offices from feudal control. For the most part, these were unsuccessful. In 989, at the Council of Charraux, churchmen and nobles condemned feudal warfare. They urged feudal knights to keep what they termed the Peace of God. In this agreement, groups of people were set apart as "off limits" for feuds, e.g., churchmen, peasants, women, children, and merchants. It had little effect until the bishops and abbots grouped together as vigilantes; then, when a noble broke this so-called Peace of God, the Churchmen retaliated.* This brought immediate but short-lived results. In 1027, the Truce of God was proclaimed at Elne in France. This Truce recognized legitimate reasons for feudal warfare but limited fighting by prohibiting it on weekends, holidays, and certain feast days. As the idea spread, the amount of time allowed for fighting was gradually diminished. Fighting became prohibited from Christmas to Epiphany, from Easter until June, and from August until the beginning of October. The prohibition appears to have coincided with the seasons of plowing, sowing, and harvesting.

It seems more than coincidental that the crusades against the Moslems appeared following these attempts by the Church to influence the direction of feudalism. Through the Crusades, the Church could direct the martial desires outward against the Moslem infidels and reduce chaotic combativeness at home. Thus, the Church played a positive role in limiting and directing the effects of feudalism on society.

## GENERALIZATIONS CONCERNING FEUDALISM AND ITS VALUES:

1. Feudalism trained a special group of fighting men mounted on horseback called knights who were the best and most effective fighters in this period.

2. Their system of constructing castles on captured land was excellent for holding and maintaining alien territory.

3. Feudalism began to divide and order a chaotic Europe into workable governmental areas, exemplifying a triumph for localism and enabling these small localized areas to be consolidated in the later movement toward nations.

4. Even though the system in France was relatively weak, the feudalism that was exported in the 12th Century was stronger and more effective because of its emphasis on centralization.

5. In feudalism's weaknesses, one finds the lesson that personal government can never be as effective as a government established by law, except in small areas.

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*Excommunication seemed to be the most effective method of coercion.

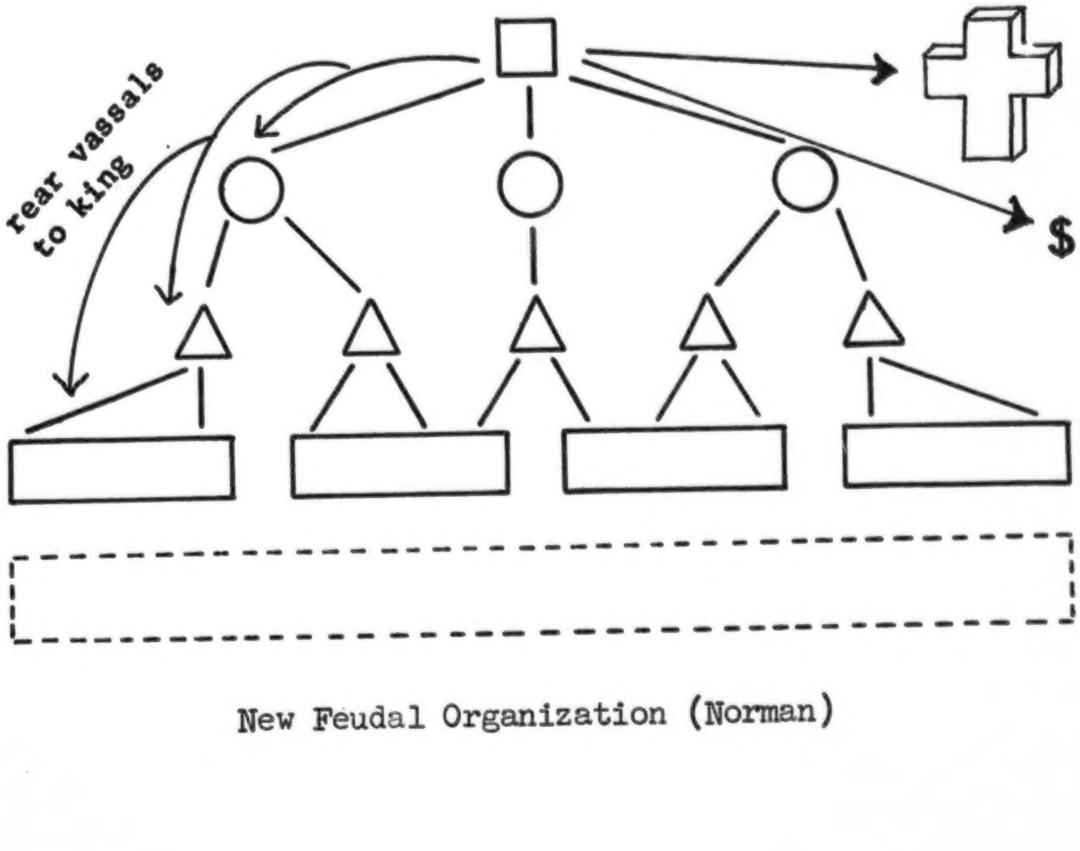
6. In its development, much of feudalism became the source from which conquerors began to exercise the first European imperialism.

7. The feudal system marks an important stage in the overall movement from the barbaric tribe to a monarchical system of government.

## FEUDALISM: LATER DEVELOPMENTS:

In the late 11th and 12th Centuries, feudalism exhibited a new and changed character resulting in a more effective system of government. A good example of this change can be found in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Sicily and Naples), which became Norman in the 11th Century after conquest. The conquest by the Normans took forty to fifty years and was gradually achieved by the process of securing a portion of land and building a castle on it to keep and control it. The resulting adaptation of the feudal system was a copy of the Norman system. The new development, representing a change from the previous Frankish system, saw normal chain of command eliminated with the king requiring homage of all vassals in the hierarchy (the "rear vassals"). He now could call on everyone individually rather than through other vassals. The hostility of alien territory required that there be no feudal dissension, and the system had to be effective in order to survive. Formerly, a vassal would bring a portion of his knights to serve the lord and keep the remaining knights at home in reserve. Now all knights reported directly to the king so that he might know exactly how many were available and could determine their use himself.

Another change was the right of the king to garrison all of the nobles' castles. Formerly, the king could not interfere with feudal castles, but now the king made them centers of power. One of the most effective changes occurred when the king insisted that the control of both coinage and the church be rested from local nobles and given to him.



New Feudal Organization (Norman)

Thus, the new Norman feudalism as seen in the Two Sicilies seems to have been a reverse of the original Northern French feudalism of the 11th Century.

Changes and modifications in the feudal structure also occurred with its introduction in 1066 in England. As was true in early Frankish feudalism, the Norman feudal structure emphasized a centralized system; the king had the right of homage from every "rear" vassal, castles were garrisoned, the church and coinage both became centrally controlled. In 11th Century England, however, the king preserved the old Anglo-Saxon government, which was essentially non-feudal. This mixed system incorporating the English administrative system with national courts, enabling the king to exert some form of check on the feudal nobles, eventually produced the English national system. This did not happen along the borders of Wales and Scotland where the king, for reasons of border protection, needed a concentration of power in the hands of the local landholders making them stronger locally and more dependent upon feudalism.

Feudalism also spread beyond Normandy and England into the Crusade areas of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli. The exported feudalism to these areas was more centralized than in Northern France and, therefore, more like the Norman, English, and Sicilian types. One extension arising out of peculiar geographical circumstances was that the king, desiring that the lesser lords not tamper with trade, money, and goods, assumed full personal control of these.

In Spain, the same pattern developed. The feudalism introduced in the 11th Century by French barons to rid the country of Moors centralized the barons' power. Similarly, German nobles began moving across the Elbe and spread into the Slavic areas, introducing a more centralized and tightly organized feudalism.

## CONCLUDING THESIS OF LATER DEVELOPMENTS:

The most important change to occur in feudalism as it expanded and was exported is that it became more centralized as it merged with non-feudal local elements. This led later to the development of national states.

## WHO WERE THE PEOPLE SPREADING FEUDALISM?

As the feudal system grew in the 11th and 12th Centuries, there developed a very distinct class of men distinguished by their training in the knowledge and use of arms in warfare and by the ideas and ideals related to this training. The relation of the concept of primo geniture to the exporting of feudalism in 11th and 12th Century Europe is important. Since only the eldest son could succeed the feudal lord, the remaining members of the family had to succeed on their own. The lord of the vassal needed a fully equipped vassal and could hardly afford to have a fief divided and subdivided among many heirs. Therefore, a large number of younger sons migrated to new lands. The feudal system produced landless knights and nobles, and territorial expansion represents an attempt to remedy this deficiency. The reason that this expansion did not appear in any great proportions until the 10th Century is because, prior to this time, there were still some opportunities at home. In the later centuries, this landless, unstable class of trained warriors was the basic material for the expansion of feudalism.

## IDEALS OF FEUDALISM:

What can we know of feudal ideals, and from what sources? For the most part, the ideals of the feudal period were the ideals of France with some German contributions. There is much to be learned from the chroniclers of the period. In addition, there is a surviving body of literature, chanson de gestes, that grows out of the tradition of fighting men. As the men went to battle, they took minstrels to accompany them with songs to urge them on. These songs were of the type that appealed to fighting men. The most famous was the "Song of Roland." In brief, Roland was a knight of Charlemagne imbued with the ideals of 11th Century feudalism, who advanced into Spain. When leaving Spain, Roland was left in charge of the rear guard with orders to sound his horn if in trouble. Through an act of treachery, Roland became embroiled in difficulties, but pride prevented him from calling for aid. Another example of this type of literature concerns Raul of Cambri and how he dealt with a disloyal lord by killing him.

The literature reflects the basic feudal ideals, attitudes of physical prowess and bravery, loyalty, pride, courage, and manliness. The interrelationship of the vassal and his lord is very important in this literature. The king seems to be remote and powerless and the lord most important.

The religious view seen in the chanson de geste was that of a militant warring religion, e.g., St. Michael with his sword and his lack of mercy. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the feudalized churchmen and the fighting knights. The churchmen were drawn from the nobility with its noble ideals, and it is, therefore, not difficult to understand some of the excesses of the crusades.

The attitude toward women is interesting in that they are not discussed in the chanson de gestes. The prime interest of this literature is the vassal as a warrior. Marriage was generally a financial contractual agreement and depended very little on love. Since women could not fight and their marriages were arranged, they were generally not dealt with in this genre.

"Law" was based on tradition and custom, and conflicts were usually settled by combat, with the idea that God would save the innocent. Thus, physical prowess, and not justice, prevailed. The Church did make some efforts to soften this ideal in the forms of the Peace of God and the Truce of God. As mentioned earlier, these attempted to force the nobles to leave innocent bystanders alone. When backed by force, the Church's position was effective, but, like most laws that lack the threat of coercion in theory or fact, it was only limitedly effective.

## THE CRUSADES: A COMBINATION OF IDEALS:

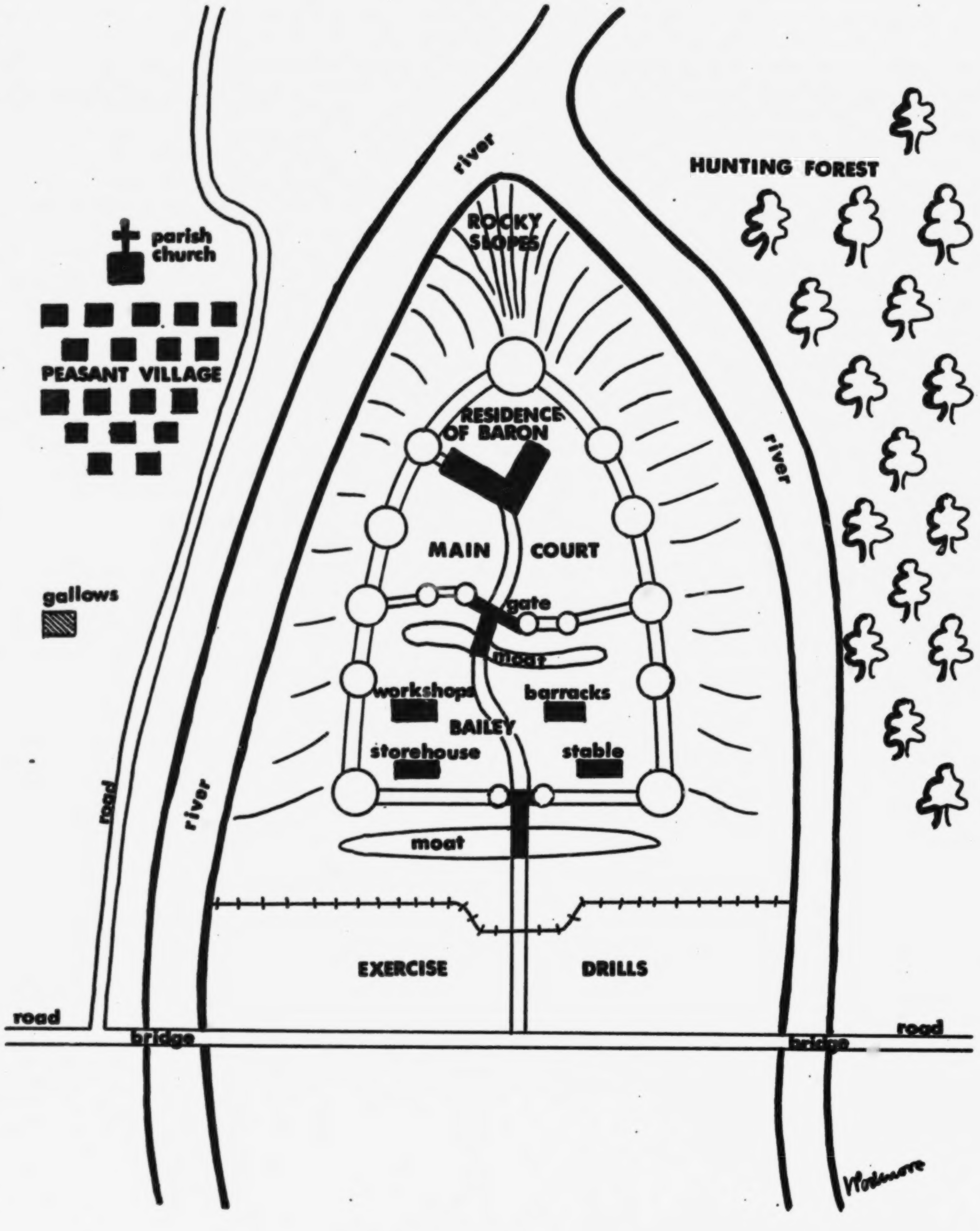
An effective cultural ideal grew out of the Crusades. Members of the feudal class combined land-hunger and the tradition of physical prowess with the higher ideals of the church. Thus, a crusader was able to direct his energies toward religious ends. For some leaders (especially in Northern France) a desire to capture the Holy Land from the heathens acted as prime motivation for participation in the crusades. Others, such as the men in the Two Sicilies, seemed to want only land (as evidenced by the fact that once they acquired land they began to desert the crusades). Some seemed to manage a harmonious balance between the two motivations. (Raymond of Toulouse is an example of a crusader fighting for the Church and also securing land in the process.) These might be compared with the American Puritans, who were genuinely interested in both God and the economic promise in the form of new lands.

Instances of the combination of the ideal with earthly considerations is provided by two religious orders--the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaler (Order of St. John). Originally, these orders were established to care for weary pilgrims, but eventually they became a spiritual militia. These furnish important examples of combining the spiritual with military ideas and functions. The members took vows as monks (chastity, reverence, obedience), but they also maintained the sword of the knight. Thousands of men during this period joined this "Crusading Foreign Legion." The Teutonic Knights from Germany were similar in the beginning, but eventually they became a political rather than a religious organization.

SUMMARY:

Feudalism, in the course of being exported by the landless knights, changed character and became more highly centralized. As feudalism expanded, its ideals developed. These ideals of the fighting class are found expressed in the literature of the chanson de geste, which glorifies bravery, courage, physical prowess, and honor. The Church enhanced the growth of this ideal by encouraging the crusades against the infidel and one finds the ideals of Roland mingled with a sublimated feudalism.

# MODEL OF A MEDIEVAL CASTLE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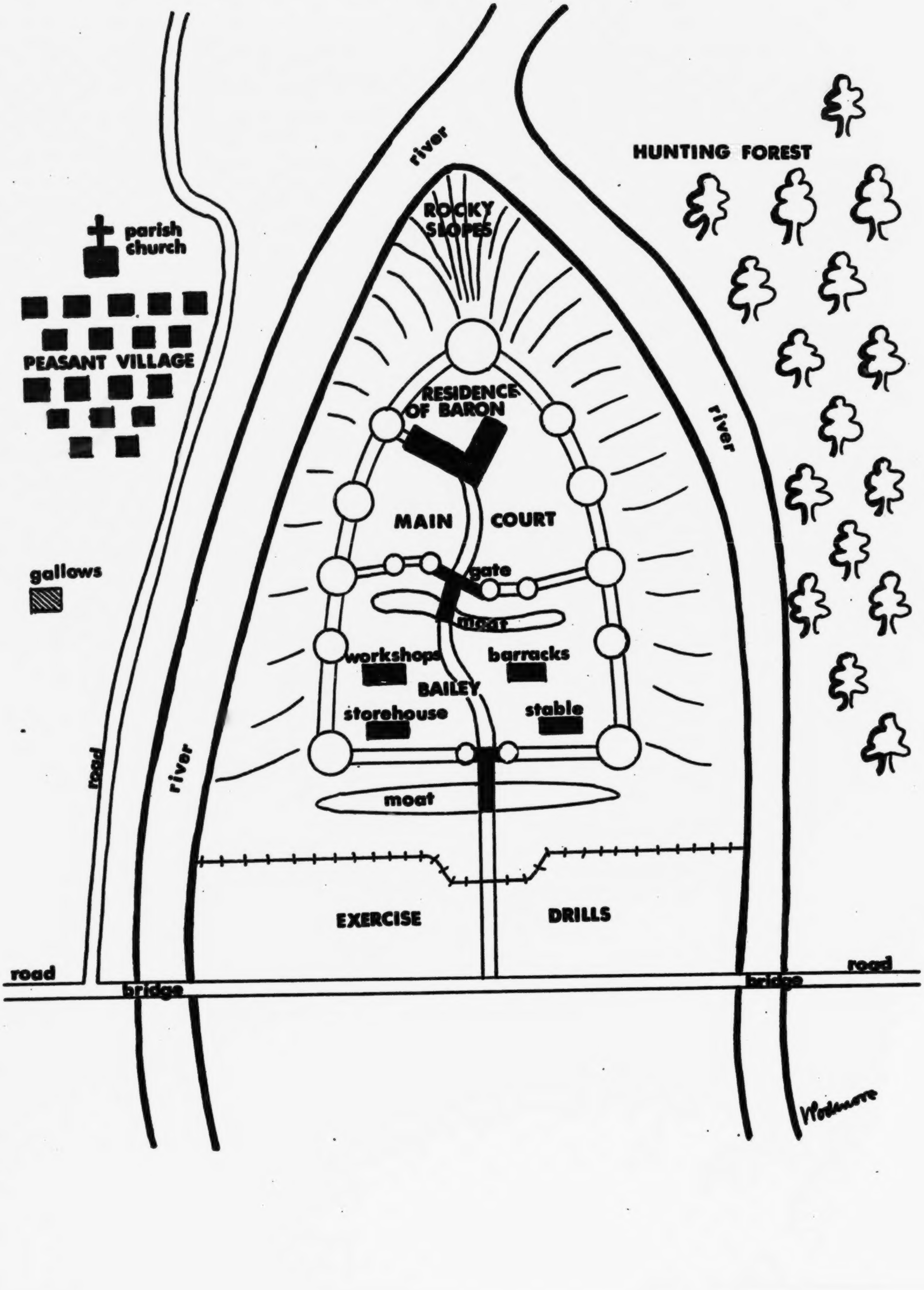
ROCKY SLOPES
parish church
PEASANT VILLAGE
RESIDENCE OF BARON
MAIN COURT
gallows
gate
moat
workshops
barracks
BAILEY
storehouse
stable
river
road
river
moat
EXERCISE
DRILLS
road
bridge
bridge
road

# MODEL OF A MEDIEVAL CASTLE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BAILEY
storehouse
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EXERCISE
DRILLS
road
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## PROBLEM 1

### Part I:

Sort Cards - This exercise is designed to enable the student to construct a hypothetical "model" of what was originally French feudalism in the Medieval period before it was exported and modified to meet local needs. Through use of the cards, the students should be able to construct a facsimile of the feudal societal pyramid of that time. The feudal hierarchy and its system of allegiances and the communication arrangement of the chain of command should be easily deduced from this exercise. By requiring the students to assign descriptive titles to the arranged cards, they can begin to distinguish both the qualitative and the quantitative factors that help determine this social stratification.

### Part II:

This section focuses on the political aspects of the feudal structure and raises the problem of territorial aggression as it relates to the nature of the system.

## PROBLEM 2

### Part I:

Part I is constructed to complete the model of the feudal structure. By discussing the vassalage agreement in the context of the feudal pyramid, the student should begin to understand the "neatness" of the theoretical model. He should see the logical relations of the society and its integral parts, if the "model" functions as it is intended.

### Part II:

In Part II, he can begin to speculate as to the problems and complications that could arise and disturb the internal equilibrium of the system The questions are based on logical relations from the existing data and should be an excellent test of reflective thinking. The historical element is touched upon lightly in this part by the construction of the model.

## PROBLEM 3

### Part I:

Part I attempts to relate the effectiveness of feudalism to the geographical area to which it was applied in an effort to show that its limitations over vast areas were due primarily to lack of communication. It also raises questions concerning the personal qualities of the individual and his dependence on the system.

### Part II:

Another complication in the feudal model of previous construction is found in church-state relations. The object of this problem is two-fold: first, to raise the question as a complicating factor to the structure, and, second, to enable the unit to make the transition to the later materials which deal with the role of the Church in medieval society.

## PROBLEM 1

In this problem, you will be provided with a set of cards, each of which provides some important data necessary for you to perform the tasks that follow. To begin with, you should take note of the following conditions:

1. Each card provides important information about one person at a certain time in history. While this "person" is not a real historical figure, he is based on and represents types of people who have existed in history.
2. All of the individuals represented on these cards are part of the same society. There are important relationships between them which explain what kind of "rank" each man holds in the total society. Some of the "rules" that determine their relationship to one another are as follows:
    - a. These people can be organized into ranks, and each rank represents a particular amount of power and importance in the society.
    - b. From one to all individuals can hold the same rank in society.
    - c. The larger the number of people who hold the same rank in society, the less the importance of that rank in society.
    - d. The people of one rank owe allegiance to the people of the rank of immediately greater importance.
    - e. Communication and control take place between ranks in society through a chain of command--people of any rank communicate and control those directly below them.
    - f. It is possible for a person to rise from one rank to another by marrying the daughter of someone in a higher rank.

Keep all of the above conditions in mind as you proceed with the following tasks.

## PART I

1. After reading each card carefully a number of times, arrange all the cards on a table in an organization which illustrates the following:
    - a. all of the individuals who have the same rank (this can be one, many, or all people).
    - b. each of the different ranks that existed in this society.
    - c. the relation of each rank to the other ranks.
2. When you have arranged these cards, examine the organization carefully. On the basis of your organization and the information given on each card, pick a title for each individual which you think correctly indicates his rank, power, and importance in this society.
3. Make a drawing in the space that follows which illustrates your organization for these people. This drawing should include:
    - a. a rectangle for every one of the index cards
    - b. the name of the individual which each card represents (i.e., Louis, Man from Cluny, etc.), written in the proper rectangle.
    - c. the title you have given to each individual, written in the proper rectangle with his name.

Note: You will be expected to hand in both the drawing and your packet of cards when this is due.

# FEUDAL CARD SORT PROBLEM

Med-II (A)

### THE MAN FROM ORLEANS

Theoretically the most powerful man in the territory. Generally this power is not contested nor is it respected by others of similar status. There is always the possibility of conflict with large landholding family groups and power-seeking relatives. However, his shrewd sense and enterprising spirit, tempered with reason and prudence, have made him an outstanding character. He resides at Orleans and his personal domain is about 4200 miles. He has the pledged loyalties of an acre at least twice this size. Thie income from his estate would average yearly about four and one-quarter million dollars (at today's values).

### THE MAN FROM FLANDERS

This man is in charge of defense in the northern reaches of the territory and resides in Flanders. He is a very loyal and popular man. He has distinguished himself by characteristics exemplifying the times. His pledged supporters are numbered between 7000-9000 men.

### THE MAN FROM AQUITAINE

This man is chief of the defense of the southern frontier of the territory, and he lives in the domain of Acquitaine. In a pilgrimage against the infidels, he was famous for securing the support of 12,000 men. Normally, he has the support of about 6000-8000 men.

### THE MAN FROM BURGUNDY

This man lives in the eastern province of the kingdom. He can rival any man for power. But others do not recognize the right of his family line to his power and prerogatives. He is able to muster between 6000-8000 men in times of conflict

# FEUDAL CARD SORT PROBLEM

### THE MAN FROM BORDEAUX

This is an elderly man with extreme loyalties, stemming from his campaigns against the infidels. His area is coastal and equivalent to about 18-20 counties in size. He has many eligible daughters for whom he would like to arrange marriages before his death.

### THE MAN FROM AURILLAC

Since Aurillac is in the central regions of the area, it is an advantageous territory to occupy. This man is constantly at war and people desire his twenty counties (equal to about 100 farms). He has been successful in keeping this area because of his ability to secure the help that was pledged to him. He once marched with the man from Acquitaine to defend the southern border and in a pilgrimage against the infidels.

### THE MAN FROM ARNES

This man is similar in prestige and power to a 50-farm holder, but he has only recently acquired this territory and is very independent about his ways. He has an allegiance to the man from Flanders but does not respect it. He is ambitious and extremely belligerent, ready to make war and secure new territories.

### THE MAN FROM CLERMONT

His power is similar to the man from Cluny. And even though his residence is in the southern area, his allegiance is to a man in the eastern areas (the same man who holds the allegiance of the man from Cluny). The man from Clermont has about forty farms under his control.

# FEUDAL CARD SORT PROBLEM

### THE MAN FROM CLUNY

This man's power comes chiefly from his land-holding, in that he holds about fifty farms under his power. He, like the other members of this group, is not particularly a good farm manager but is very effective at extracting money. He resides in Cluny in the eastern area.

### JOHN

Third son of a man from the central area of these regions. Has distinguished himself in combat as a brave and venturesome lad. Has been awarded a special privilege by this group, making him a member of this society at the lowest level. Being landless he is eager to gain territory.

### LOUIS

This man, like Robert, has divided his loyalties. Primarily this occurred because of his love for combat. His prime allegiance is the same as Simon and Andre have.

### ANDRE

Has fought for the men from Cluny and hopes some day that the man from Burgundy will take over all the territories.

# FEUDAL CARD SORT PROBLEM

### ALBERT

Has a great respect for the man from Flanders and has fought for him on many occasions. He has an immediate allegiance to the man from Arnes and would like not to honor it, but he is forced into it by the powerful man. He is virtually landless but aspires to be more popular in more important social and political circles.

### HENRY

Has allegiance to the same man as Robert and virtually the same interest.

### ROBERT

This man has divided his loyalties between the man from Bordeaux and the man from Aurillac. He is an excellent fighter and spends most of his time engaged in warring efforts. He has a small farm of little value but would like to increase his holdings.

### SIMON

Has allegiance to the man from Cluny and is interested in one of the daughters of the man from Bordeaux or even of the man from Acquitaine.

## PART II

Answer each of the following questions:

1. What is the correct name for the type of political organization these people had?

2. If the basic functions of government are said to be (a) to furnish defense for its people, (b) to maintain internal law and order, (c) to assume the financial responsibility for maintaining a standard of living, how do you think these functions were carried out in this society?

3. Suppose this society comes into conflict with another society having a similar organization. How would this society prepare for war? Who would be in charge? Is this an effective system for meeting challenges from other societies?

4. If this society was the victor in conflict involving a society from another geographical area, what do you think would be done with the conquered territory to control it? Is this system capable of maintaining acquired territory?

# PROBLEM 2

## Part I:

It was customary for men in a society with this type of social organization to enter into an agreement with men of higher status and to exchange the following responsibilities:

The men of higher status gave:

(1) ownership of a portion of land.

(2) protection of this land and its owner.

(3) a promise not to interfere with the rights of the man owning this land.

(4) provision of law and order through court proceedings.

The men receiving these benefits, in turn gave to the men of higher status:

(1) military service.

(2) court service.

(3) financial aid.

(4) one year's income upon entering into the agreement.

(5) various immediate and personal aids.

Based on what you have already established and on this additional information concerning the agreement, write a short essay discussing what you think is the purpose and value of such an arrangement in a society. Be sure to include in your essay any foreseeable problems a society with such a social agreement might have.

Part II:

Answer the following questions on the basis of the type of social organization that has been established for this society:

1. Suppose Burgundy and Flanders went to war over some territorial dispute and Simon had married Bordeaux's daughter and Albert had married one of the daughters of Cluny. What are some of the problems that might arise in such a situation?

2. Suppose that Henry (in service to Aurillac) marries the daughter of Aquitaine. What would happen to the "chain of command"?

3. Suppose that Aurillac, for reasons of taxes, sells three-fourths of his land to Clermont. What does this do to his prestige and power? How effective will he now be in controlling those who serve him?

4. Suppose that Arnes asserted his autonomy by refusing to honor his sworn allegiance. What would happen if Aquitaine and Flanders came into conflict?

## PROBLEM 3

Part I:

In a short essay, speculate on the effectiveness of the type of social organization developed thus far for small, as opposed to large, geographic areas. Are there any advantages for one size over the other? If so, which and why? Would this system be more or less desirable for an individual who did not have the power to defend himself or to call on others for assistance?

Part II:

The institution of the church has served various needs, performed unusual and varying tasks, and functioned with differing degrees of success in particular societies. In a society with an organization such as the one with which we have been dealing, what function would you anticipate for the church?

If the agreement system discussed earlier were applied to the officers or leaders of the church, might there be a conflict between this system and the ideas and ideals of the church? Could the church function more efficiently if its members and leaders were not involved in these agreements? Write a short essay which discusses these questions.

# THE CHURCH

The following document contains excerpts from correspondence between Roman Catholic popes and various temporal authorities (Holy Roman emperors and kings) spanning the Medieval Period from 800-1417.* It is to be used to clarify the distinction between spiritual and temporal authority and the respective degrees of such authority vested in Church and State during the period. It can also be used to demonstrate the development of national monarchies and the shifting emphases in clerical philosophy and justification of power (from reform to a legalistic interest, paralleling contemporaneous developments in medieval political organization by the 12th and 13th centuries). Attention should also be given to the societal function of Church and State as the period progresses. It will be noted that the "goal-attainment" function normally associated with a society's political organization is claimed as the domain of the papacy during much of the medieval period.

Students should be given the document at the beginning of the period and allowed about half the period for completion of Part I. A class discussion following this should provide students with sufficient clues (i.e., when church and/or state appeared to be at their zenith) to enable them to specifically research each excerpt.

Part II challenges students to research actual historical data in order to test and give specificity to their conjectures in Part I. Through this task, they will confront some of the most prominent political and religious leaders during the medieval period. And they will address the important historical problem of Church-State relations.

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*1. Charlemagne to Leo III - 796.
2. Frederick II and Innocent III - ca. 1270
3. William I - ca. 1076.
4. Gregory VII - Dictate of the Pope - ca. 1090.
5. Decree of the Council of Constance - 1417.
6. Innocent II (on Papacy and Empire) - ca. 1200.

(See historical introduction to materials for further historical background information regarding these men.)

# THE CHURCH

The following document presents excerpts from correspondence between various Roman Catholic popes and lay leaders during the medieval period. Eventually we will attempt to identify the actual personalities involved.

## Part I:

Read the excerpts attached carefully and answer the following questions for each of the six excerpts in the spaces provided on the document sheets.

1. To whom is the document directed? By whom? (i.e., a pope writing to a king, a general policy statement for popular consumption, etc.)
2. Briefly summarize what is being said. How would you characterize the writer's perception of his and/or his opponents' rights, duties, and power?
3. Are there any specific clues in the document which can be pursued in order to concretely identify the time when it was written, the situation being described, and/or the person(s) who wrote it? Underline these clues in the excerpt.

## Part II:

1. Given the specific name, place, and situation clues discussed today, refer to secondary sources--textbooks, bibliographical dictionaries, primary source anthologies of the medieval period, etc.--and specifically identify (i.e., time, place, personalities involved) each of the six excerpts. For each of the six, explain how and why you identified the excerpt as you did.
2. If each of these excerpts is typical of Church-State relations at the time when it was written, what generalizations can you make regarding Church-State relations during the period spanned by the excerpts? Did they remain constant? Which institution (church or state) seemed to exercise the "goal-attainment" function for medieval society of this period? Write a short essay containing your answers to these questions.

For as I made a covenant of holy compaternity with your most blessed predecessor, so I desire to conclude an inviolable treaty of the same faith and love with your Blessedness, that by your prayers drawing down upon me the grace of God, I may be everywhere followed by the apostolic benediction, and the most holy seat of the Roman Church may be always protected by our devotion. It is our duty, with the help of God, everywhere externally to defend the Church of Christ with our arms from the inroads of pagans and the devastation of infidels, and internally to fortify it by our recognition of the Catholic faith. It is yours, most holy Father, with hands like the hands of Moses raised in prayer to God, to help our warfare, so that by your intercession, the gift and guidance of God, the Christian people may everywhere and always win the victory over the enemies of His holy name, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be magnified in all the world.

We, therefore, on account of the aforesaid crimes and of his many other nefarious misdeeds, after careful deliberation with our brethren and with the holy council, acting however unworthily as the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth and knowing how it was said to us in the person of the blessed apostle Peter, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," we announce and declare the said prince to be bound because of his sins and rejected by the Lord and deprived of all honor and dignity, and moreover by this sentence we hereby deprive him of the same since he has rendered himself so unworthy of ruling his kingdom and so unworthy of all honors and dignity; for, indeed, on account of his inquisition he has been rejected of God that he might not reign or exercise authority. All who have taken the oath of fidelity to him we absolve forever from such oath by our apostolic authority, absolutely forbidding any one hereafter to obey him or look upon him as emperor or king. Let those whose duty it is to select a new emperor proceed freely with the election. But it shall be our care to provide as shall seem fitting to us for the kingdom of Sicily with the council of our brothers, the cardinals.

Thy legate Hubert, Holy Father, hath called upon me in thy name to take the oath of fealty to thee and to thy successors, and to exert myself in enforcing the more regular payment of the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Church of Rome. One request I have granted; the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. I never made any promise to that effect, neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine. The money in question during the three years past, owing to my being frequently in France, has been negligently collected. Now, as I am, by divine mercy, returned to my kingdom, the money which has been collected is remitted by the aforesaid legate. As for the rest, it shall be sent as opportunity shall occur, by the legates of our trusty Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us, and for our kingdom, for we always respected thy predecessors, and we would fain regard thee with sincere affection, and be always thy obedient servant.

The Roman Church is founded by God alone.

The Roman pontiff alone can legitimately take the title of Universal. He alone can depose bishops, or reconcile them to the Church. His legate, even if he be of inferior rank, takes precedence of all bishops in council, and can pronounce sentence of deposition against them.

The Pope can depose the absent. There shall be no contact held with persons excommunicated by the Pope and none may dwell in the same house with them.

To the Pope alone belongs the right of making new laws, according to the necessities of the time, of forming new congregations, of raising a canonry to an abbey, of dividing into two a bishopric that is too rich, of uniting under one such as are too poor.

He alone may wear the imperial insignia.

All the princes of the earth shall kiss the feet of the Pope, but none other.

There is a title which one man alone can bear--that of Pope.

He has the right of deposing emperors.

He has the right to transfer, when necessary, a bishop from one see to another

He can transfer any priest from any church to any other place he may please.

The priest thus appointed by him may rule in another church than his own; but he may not make war or receive a superior grade from any bishop.

No council is to be called a general council without the Pope's order. No capitulary, no book can be received as canonical without his authority.

The sentence of the Pope can be revoked by none, and he alone can revoke the sentences pronounced by others.

He can be judged by none.

None may dare pronounce sentence on one who appeals to the See Apostolic.

To it shall be referred all major causes by the whole Church.

The Church of Rome never has erred, and never can err, as Scripture warrants.

A Roman pontiff, canonically ordained, at once becomes, by the merits of Saint Peter, indubitably holy.

By his order and with his permission, it is lawful for subjects to accuse princes.

He can depose or reconcile bishops without calling a synod.

Whosoever does not agree in all things with the Roman Church is not to be considered a Catholic.

The Pope can release subjects from the oath of fealty.

This holy synod of Constance, forming a general council for the extirpation of the present schism and the union and reformation, in head and members, of the Church of God, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, to the praise of Omnipotent God, in order that it may the more easily, safely, effectively, and freely bring about the union and reformation of the church of God, hereby determines, decrees, ordains, and declares what follows:

It first declares that this same council, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, forming a general council and representing the Catholic Church militant, has its power immediately from Christ, and every one, whatever his state or position, even if it be the Papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all things which pertain tothe faith and the healing of the said schism, and to the general reformation of the Church of God, in head and members. It further declares that any one, whatever his condition, station or rank, even if it be the Papal, who shall contumaciously refuse to obey the mandates, decrees, ordinances, or instructions which have been, or shall be, issued by this holy council, or by any other general council, legitimately summoned, which concern, or in any way relate to the above mentioned objects, shall, unless he repudiate his conduct, be subject to condign penance and be suitably punished, having recourse, if necessary, to the other resources of the law.

The Creator of the universe set up two great luminaries in the firmament of heaven; the greater light to rule the day, the lesser light to rule the night. In the same way for the firmaments of the universal Church, which is spoken of as heaven, he appointed two great dignitaries; the greater to bear rule over souls (these being, as it were, days), the lesser to bear rule over bodies (these being, as it were, nights). These dignitaries are the pontifical authority and the royal power. Furthermore, the moon derives her light from the sun, and is in truth inferior to the sun in both size and quality, in position as well as effect. In the same way, the royal power drives its dignity from the pontifical authority.